

JANUARY 1, 1979

\$1.25

MAN OF THE YEAR



Teng Hsiao-p'ing
Visions of a New China



Based on latest U.S. Government Report:

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	tar mg./cig	nicotine mg./cig
Winston Lights	13	0.9
Vantage	11	0.8
Salem Lights	10	0.8
Merit	8	0.6
Kent Golden Lights	8	0.7
True	5	0.4
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Carlton Menthol	less than 1	0.1
Carlton Box	less than 0.5	0.05



Less
than
1 mg.
tar.

Of all brands, lowest... Carlton Box: Less than 0.5 mg. tar, 0.05 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May '78.

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Filter & Menthol
The lighter
100's.



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tar.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Box: Less than 0.5 mg. "tar," 0.05 mg. nicotine; Soft Pack and Menthol: 1 mg. "tar," 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May '78. 100 mm. 5 mg. "tar," 0.5 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

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"Her name is Marites. And she's the special child I sponsor. We share an affection for one another that is very personal and private. But I have decided to tell her story in the hope that I might be able to convince you to help someone like her.

"Marites lives in the Philippines. Four years ago she was an eight-year-old girl with little hope. Her father died, leaving her mother who is sick with lung disease as the only means of support for Marites and five other children. The family's extreme poverty forced Marites and her two older sisters to go to work just to survive.

"Then, thanks to the Christian Children's Fund, I was able to sponsor her. To help give her food, clothing and a chance to go to school without taking her away from the family she loves.

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Christian Children's Fund, Inc.

A Letter from the Publisher

For this week's story on TIME's 52nd Man of the Year, three of our Hong Kong correspondents brought distinctively different and personal points of view to the task of reporting on Teng Hsiao-p'ing and China's New March. Bureau Chief Marsh Clark had recently completed a three-year assignment in Moscow. He found it easier to get information on the Chinese Communists than the Soviets. One reason: the famed wall posters, which, says Clark, "tell us much about how the Chinese people feel these days about their leaders." Adds Clark: "On a trip to the mainland I found the officials engagingly candid about conditions in their country."

Correspondent Richard Bernstein, who studied Chinese language and history at Harvard, toured southern China. Reports Bernstein: "The reception I got at the ricefields was far warmer than the one I got six years ago when most Chinese were terrified of being seen talking to a foreigner. Both farmers and workers gave me the impression on this trip of being rather poignantly embarrassed by the difficult times China has experienced in the past ten years. And they have invested enormous hopes in Teng." Bernstein and

Clark depended heavily on the encyclopedic knowledge of their Hong Kong colleague Bing W. Wong, a native of Fukien province, who was pleased when his homeland resumed relations with the U.S. Says Wong: "Each country has something to learn from the other."

Not since 1938, when Generalissimo and Madame Chiang



Reporters Wong, Bernstein and Clark in Hong Kong

Kai-shek shared the title as Man and Wife of the Year, has an Asian been selected Man of the Year. The main story is the work of Senior Writer Lance Morrow, who wrote last year's Man of the Year cover about another foreign leader who acted boldly: Anwar Sadat. Staff Writer Patricia Blake, who learned about Communism as an expert on Soviet affairs, wrote Teng's biography and the article on life in China. Reporter-Researchers Laurie Upson Mamo and Oscar Chang also contributed to the 21-page package, which was designed by Assistant Art Director Rudolph Holund and supervised by Senior Editors John Elson and Nor Kriss. Says Elson:

"What we are really talking about is an event that has just barely begun. The Great Leap Outward is also China's Great Gamble. For China's sake as well as ours, I hope it succeeds."

John A. Meyers

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Cover: Painting by Richard Hess.



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**IT'S GOING TO BE A NIGHT TO REMEMBER.
MAKE SURE YOU CAN.**

It should be the kind of evening you want to hold onto.

Filled with fun and fine company, music and dancing, good food and drinks.

Unfortunately, some people are going to overdo it. And wake up with nothing at all.

Seagram
Distillers Company

Letters

U.S. Facelift

To the Editors:

It seems that young Southern women have bought the cosmetics mystique [Dec. 11] lock, stock and Farrah. As a result, I cannot use the campus bus system here at the University of Georgia—the perfume odor is overwhelming.

What's wrong with the ultimate natural look: no makeup, no perfume, no cosmetics at all?

Roger A. Hunt
Athens, Ga.

Oh, cosmetics! America needs them badly: to cover up all deficits, inflation, decaying cities and ugly things.

Janis Silins
Roselle, N.J.



Hurrah for your enlightening story on the cosmetics industry and the high price of beauty! From now on, if I buy such products I may be a fool, but at least I'll be an educated fool. Indeed, who's to say that the benefits of skin treatments are only skin-deep? One could say that a healthy mind starts with a healthy skin.

Monique M. Byer
Springfield, Va.

The Military Life

Psychiatrist LaGrone's dismal picture of the transient military family [Dec. 11] is grossly distorted. Moving around is for us a way of avoiding the stifling, narrow-minded existence of one town, one state, one country. He suggests that our fathers are authoritarian figures in search of someone to bully. Except for the uniform, the average military family man is shockingly ordinary.

Michael Wagner
Reseda, Calif.

What statistics does LaGrone have available for children of grocery clerks or of traveling salesmen? The military makes such a convenient, homogeneous

target for studies such as his. We are just as normal and abnormal as any other segment of the population.

Sandy Seh
Bellevue, Neb.

Jonestown, Cont'd

What the cult-prone people [Dec. 11] probably need are some guidelines. I suggest the following: If it sounds good, keep listening. If it begins to satisfy the inner self, take out an associate membership. If they start to talk about your money and valuables, find another cult.

Wray G. Zelt III
Washington, Pa.

As former ages had Black Masses in service to evil, so it strikes me that ours has added a more subtle but all the more pernicious parody of the church and the Gospel itself—the cults.

William J. Gahoy
Copenhagen

The irrational element will continue its present dominance in our society until we take the radical step of beginning formal instruction in the methods of rational thought at the first-grade level.

Steve Allen
Van Nuys, Calif.

The Boat People

Enough! We can't absorb the surplus population of the entire world! Leave the Vietnamese and the Cambodians [Dec. 4] in Southeast Asia. Help to keep them from starving, yes, but send the help there. Political situations change. Perhaps they can be repatriated in a few years, but if they are brought here, we will be stuck with them forever.

M.M. Phillips
Mount Prospect, Ill.

The plight of the wretched Vietnamese Boat People should make all of us cry in anguish. Can we find a way to offer sanctuary to those desperate enough to flee from their homes instead of witnessing repeated capsizeings of old tubs, drownings and miserable wanderings because no port is open to them? We are such a big country and they are so few.

Maida Cooper
San Diego

The U.S. has authorized the admission of about 50,000 Boat People by the end of April 1979.

Congressional Honesty

In an article discussing the fraud conviction of Congressman Charles C. Diggs (D., Mich.), which involved a staff salary kickback scheme [Dec. 4], Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit was quoted as saying, "I don't believe he [Diggs] did any-

thing dishonest, or anything that is not a common practice throughout the Congress." I must take issue with him on this.

Congressman Diggs' guilt has been decided in a court of law. The act he was convicted of is definitely illegal. Mr. Young's belief that this illegal act is common practice in Congress could not be further from the truth.

Mayor Coleman owes Congress and the people a sincere and immediate public apology for his irresponsible remarks.

Douglas Applegate, Congressman
18th District, Ohio
Washington, D.C.

No Sellout

In your article on Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Carol Foreman [Dec. 4], I am inaccurately quoted as charging that Ms. Foreman has "sold out" to the food industry. Whatever Ms. Foreman's failings may be in regulating that industry, they are attributable to inadequate leadership, not, definitely not, venality.

Ralph Nader
Washington, D.C.

Profits in Tax Shelters

Surely the most important story of the week was that on tax shelters [Dec. 4]. I would guess that most of us think of them as a way for old folks on deflated incomes to buy municipal bonds and save a few tax dollars. Now it appears that it is a method for conniving lawyers and those with know-how to reap undeserved profits while depriving the rest of us of revenue that should have been used for our monumental governmental deficits.

Eloise Kennedy
Santa Fe, N. Mex.

What good can come from removing investment incentives such as tax shelters? Can anyone deny the immense public benefit produced by such tax-sheltered investments as renovated housing, senior-citizen homes, food and job production and the like? Let us stop torturing ourselves into finding ways to spite the rich at the expense of benefits for us all.

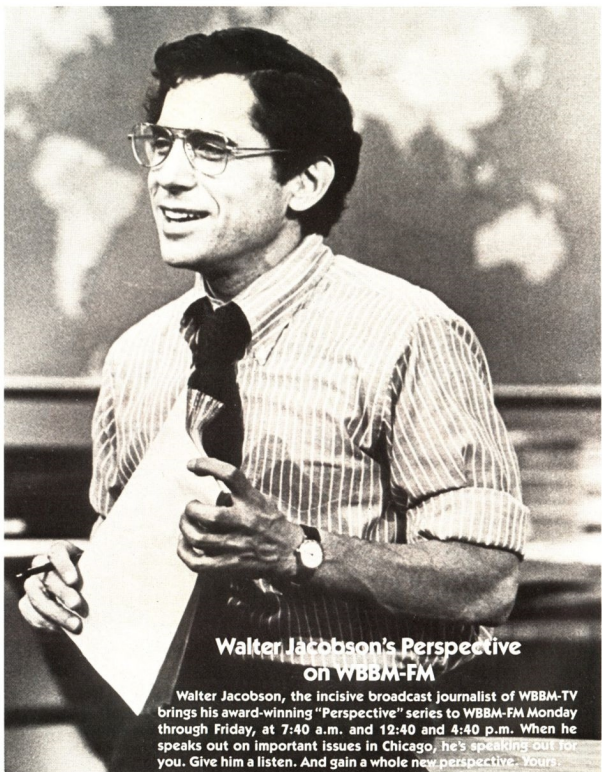
Jerrold L. Zaro
Asbury Park, N.J.

Living Link

I find Anthropologist Adrienne Zihman's study of chimpanzee bones to discover a link between man and ape [Dec. 4] a complete waste of time, money and intelligence. Can you imagine all this after reading the *Book of Genesis*? Will evolutionists ever give up and simply admit that God created us?

Joann R. Dorsch
South Bend, Ind.

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on WBBM-FM**

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I'm okay. How are my beautiful grandchildren?
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 I have never had so many good friends, even when Grandma was living. Sister Martin and our staff plan all kinds of things. We have our own band. Mr. Bauer, who used to be a clarinet player in a famous band is our leader. Alice who plays the cymbals?
 Each month I get \$25 to buy anything I need. Sometimes I only spend \$5 (Good for me!) They feed us too much but the food is good. Sister Madeline said some of us should join weight watchers. She was only kidding. Ha ha.
 Our building is quite old (like me), but my room is very nice and everything is spic and span. Just like our home was. They are planning to build us a more modern home two blocks away because fire codes say this place isn't safe from fires. It will cost millions of dollars. Imagine that! I don't see how they can raise the money to do it next week.
 Do you?
 Alice

Don't Worry Children



On the north side of Chicago, the Little Sisters of the Poor care for more than 100 elderly persons who cannot afford to live in private retirement homes. Fire codes are forcing the Sisters and their family to relocate. They need your help to build a new home.

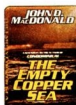


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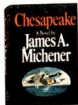
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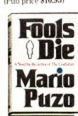
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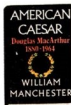
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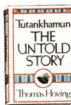
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In vast, impenetrable, trackless wilds, peaks rise 20,000 feet. Perpetually white. Where eagles soar. In valleys, birds, ground squirrels bustle among spring flowers. Deer browse in misty meadows. The last great bears roam free and sovereign. Majestic, forbidding, inhospitable lands. Yet fragile. And those who hear the call of the wild say, "Leave them untouched. Forever!" That's understandable.

But others cite our need for treasures wild lands store. In Alaska alone, perhaps 35 billion barrels of oil. Ten times last year's overseas imports. And 100 trillion cubic feet of natural gas! Vast timber stands. Untold stores of copper, nickel, coal, chromium. Raging waters to harness for power. Many feel we must develop such lands. That's understandable, too.

But we can't both preserve and develop, mine and sequester. What then to do? Let's start by looking at priorities. America will need certain critical resources: minerals, oil, hydro-power, timber. Those needs may take precedence over aesthetic values. But, development must carry with it responsibilities. Utilization must be balanced with preservation. And, the balance is best arrived at through public discussion of needs, benefits, costs and aesthetic considerations.

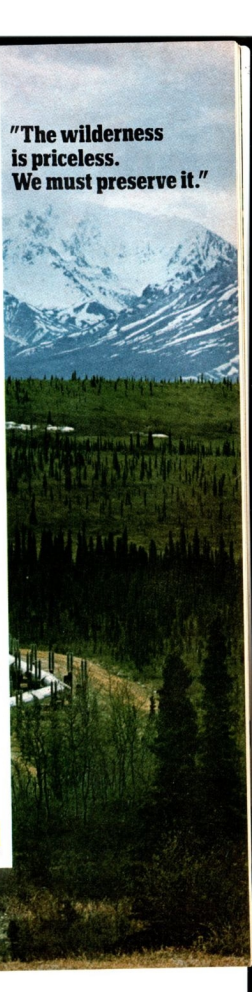
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Man of the Year

TIME/JAN. 1, 1979

Visionary of a New China

Teng Hsiao-p'ing opens the Middle Kingdom to the world

China? There lies a sleeping giant. Let him sleep, for when he wakes he will move the world.

—Napoleon Bonaparte

The project is vast, daring, and unique in history. How could there be a precedent for turning 1 billion people so sharply in their course, for leading one-quarter of mankind quickstep out of dogmatic isolation into the late 20th century and the life of the rest of the planet? The People's Republic of China, separated so long from the outer world by an instinctive xenophobia and an admixture of reclusive Maoism, in 1978 began its Great Leap Outward, or what Peking's propagandists call the New Long March. The Chinese, their primitive economy threadbare and their morale exhausted by the years of Mao Tse-tung's disastrous Cultural Revolution, hope to have arrived by the year 2000 at a state of relative modernity, and become a world economic and military power. They may not arrive, or arrive on time, but their setting off is an extraordinary spectacle of national ambition.

The Chinese venture acquired a fascinating new dimension at year's end. The U.S. and the People's Republic ended seven years of gingerly courtship that began with the Nixon-Kissinger initiatives. In simultaneous communiqués from Peking and Washington, Chairman and Premier Hua Kuo-feng and President Carter announced that the two countries would exchange ambassadors and begin normal diplomatic relations. The normalization opens potentially lucrative avenues of trade and new perspectives



on world politics, even though it will be a long time before Peking joins Washington and Moscow as a capital of first-rank global power.

The motive force behind the campaign to get the world's oldest continuous civilization to the 21st century on schedule is not Mao's titular successor, Hua Kuo-feng, 57, but Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who also holds the titles of Vice Chairman of the Communist Party and Army Chief of Staff. Although he ranks only third in the Peking Politburo (after Hua and ailing Marshal Yeh Chien-ying, 80, the figurehead Chief of State), Teng is the principal architect of what has become known in Chinese rhetoric as the Four Modernizations—an attempt simultaneously to improve agriculture, industry, science and technology, and defense. Because of the tremendous enterprise he has launched to propel the nation into the modern world, Teng Hsiao-p'ing (pronounced dung sheung ping) is TIME's Man of the Year for 1978.

Tough, abrasive, resilient, Teng, 74, has made more political comebacks than Richard Nixon. Twice, at Mao's behest, he was purged by his radical enemies, and his last rehabilitation was only 17 months ago. Teng commands a broad power base among the senior officers of the People's Liberation Army as well as wide support among China's bureaucrats, technocrats and the intelligentsia. The last two were precisely those elements of Chinese society that, like Teng, were the chief victims of the Cultural Revolution. Besides his constituency, Teng has extraordinary energy and executive skills. As a party member for more than 50 years and a veteran of Mao's original Long March, he also possesses a moral authority that no other Chinese leader can command, an authority based partly on his refusal to bow before the political winds of the past two decades.

Teng works in a wary, complementary partnership with Hua. The Hua-Teng relationship has a kind of model in the roles and personalities of Mao and of Chou En-lai, who was Teng's sponsor and protector. While Mao was a visionary and Hua remains his dog-

matist and disciple, Chou, like Teng, was a flexible realist. There is still undoubtedly personal as well as ideological conflict between Teng and Hua. Hua, for example, approved Teng's second purging, but now apparently endorses the Four Modernizations. In a sense, Hua may play chairman of the board to Teng's chief executive officer.

Other men attracted greater attention than Teng Hsiao-p'ing in this varied and violent year (see story page 40). After an uncertain apprenticeship that saw his popularity rating drop to 30% in the polls,

President Jimmy Carter was able to recoup through his foreign policy victories. At his Camp David summit, Carter appeared for a while to have achieved a miracle for the Middle East—a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. But at year's end the negotiations were frustratingly stalled. Poland's Karol Cardinal Wojtyla, the athletic, scholarly Archbishop of Cracow, became the first non-Italian Pope in 4½ centuries; in tribute to his gentle predecessor, Albino Cardinal Luciani, who held the keys of St. Peter for little more than a month, he took the name John Paul II. In California a retired industrialist, Howard Jarvis, saw the state's voters approve his tax-slashing Proposition 13—a symbol of widespread middle-class anger at Big Government. A crazed cult prophet, Jim Jones, imposed a poisonous "white night" of murder and suicide on his followers that left 913 dead in the jungles of Guyana.

War, peace and terrorism dominated the headlines. Lebanon's capital was a battleground once more, as Syrian forces in Beirut tried to crush militant

right-wing Christian armies. Cambodia and Viet Nam set about invalidating the domino theory (if Viet Nam goes Communist, the rest of Southeast Asia will go too) by slashing at each other's throats in border war instead of pursuing a common ideological expansion. The Shah of Iran's 37-year reign was shaken by week upon week of riots. In Italy, the Red Brigades kidnapped former Premier Aldo Moro, held him for 54 days, then shot him dead and left his body in the back of a car on a Rome street. In the Soviet Union, human rights campaigners Anatoli Shcharansky, Yuri Orlov and Alexander Ginzburg went into the Gulag.

A humanly happier, if ethically problematic, event occurred in England. The first baby ever conceived outside the human body was born 8½ months after doctors there united sperm and egg in a laboratory petri dish and then implanted the embryo in the mother's womb.

Yet these events were not nearly as significant as the Chinese decision to join the rest of the world. The Peking Peo-

ple's Daily cheered on the modernization drive in evangelical rhythms: "The Chinese people's march toward the great goal of the Four Modernizations echoes from the foothills of the Yenshan Mountains to the shores of the Yellow Sea to all corners of the world and has aroused worldwide attention. We are setting out to conquer on our New Long March the mountains, seas, plains, oilfields and mines of our motherland. We want to scale the heights of science and technology. We want to develop normal trade relations with other countries of the world."

To accomplish the journey, Teng and his backers have embarked on what sometimes looks suspiciously like a capitalist road. The new doctrinal slogan might be formulated thus: "Let one hundred business deals blossom, let one hundred foreign investors contend." Although very few Chinese have acquired much individual freedom as part of the new enterprise, they are discarding, without ceremony, much of their old ideological baggage. Gone is the once sacred Maoist principle of national self-reliance and independence from outside resources. Chinese managers have heretofore embraced such impure capitalist devices as meritocratic promotions and other special treatment for their best and brightest. A people that has traditionally regarded all foreigners as barbarians has opened its gates to the outer world: 530,000 tourists visited the Middle Kingdom last year. So did thousands of capitalists dowsing for new markets and investments in this promising territory. Perhaps the two most startling pieces of symbolic revisionism: the Chinese are planning to construct a golf course on the outskirts of Peking, and have given Coca-Cola exclusive rights to sell in the People's Republic.

After dwelling so long beyond the world's gaze, the Chinese suddenly seemed everywhere, bargaining intensely, cutting deals, eager to learn how the rest of mankind makes things work. In August, Hua visited Eastern Europe, where he gaily danced a hora with Rumanian youths. That spectacle on their European front did not amuse the Soviets, who keep 43 of their best combat divisions tied down along their 4,500-mile border with China. Teng went to Japan to ratify a peace and friendship treaty, pledging amid champagne toasts to "let bygones be bygones." He then flew to Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore, signing scientific exchange agreements and preaching endlessly against Soviet "hegemonism" (imperialism). Later this month, Teng will visit the U.S. to give dramatic personal confirmation of the new Chinese-American relations.

On their junkets, Chinese delegations carried elaborate shopping lists whose extravagance may far exceed the limits of the Chinese budget. Although China's international credit rating is excellent, the country has never dealt in the lofty sums now being discussed. The Chinese hope to finance their modernizations through

新的长征

Characters (above)
spell out "The New
Long March."

Man of the Year

development of oil exports, through joint ventures in which they pay off their debts in goods manufactured in foreign-built mainland factories, and through their immense human resources: manpower and discipline. One shadow over the New Long March, however, is doubt that the primitive Chinese economy can rouse itself to meet the price. One free-wheeling guess is that the Four Modernizations could cost \$800 billion by 1985. The Chinese consumer market may be a long time in developing. Despite all the current capitalist visions of the new market opening up on the mainland, it may be years before the Chinese can afford to pay for all they want. Among other things, Chinese oil reserves, on which Peking heavily counts to earn cash, are afflicted by a number of serious technical problems, including a high wax content and great difficulty in extraction owing to geological structure.

But the Chinese are proceeding with ambitious vision. In February, Japan and China signed a private trade agreement worth \$20 billion; China will export oil to Japan in exchange for Japanese steel and factories. In a ceremony last month at Peking's Great Hall of the People, Teng attended the signing of a seven-year, \$13.5 billion trade and cooperation agreement with France. Its projects include French help in developing Chinese telecommunications satellites and TV broadcasting, the modernization and extension of a steel complex, and the construction of power stations, a magnesium plant and other facilities. Most important, France landed an order for two 900-megawatt nuclear power plants, at nearly \$1 billion each.

The Chinese went to the Swedes for cooperation in mining, railroads and telecommunications, to the British for \$315 million worth of coal-mining equipment, to the Danes for help in improving Shanghai and other ports. They browsed in Sweden, France and England for modern weaponry with which to rearm their badly equipped military forces. They will probably make only a few selective purchases at first, because of their shortage of capital. Chinese and Americans kept up brisk negotiations. Coastal States Gas Corp., a U.S. firm, agreed to buy 3.6 million bbl. of Chinese crude, the first shipment to arrive early this year. In accordance with its aim to double annual steel production, to 60 million tons in 1985, China signed an agreement with Bethlehem Steel for the development of an iron mine at Shuichang, in Hopei province.

The wall that has so long imprisoned China in its immense, opaque privacy collapsed so fast that some imaginations projected a regretful vision of the Middle Kingdom overrun by Instamatics and McDonald's. (In fact, the Chinese have consulted McDonald's executives about possible fast-food techniques for use in China.) Inter-Continental Hotels plans

to build within three years a chain of 1,000-room hotels, complete with swimming pools and saunas, in Peking, Canton, Shanghai and other major cities. Hyatt International has proposed the construction of hotels with a total capacity of 10,000 rooms. Pan American and several other airlines have entered bidding for landing rights in China to bring in



Statue of Mao in Nanking

Let 100 business deals blossom.

the tourist trade on a major scale.

The Chinese are taking crash courses in foreign languages. More than 1 million copies of Radio Peking's English course have been sold in the capital. Some 10,000 Chinese students will be dispatched to study overseas, a development that will exert a profound, lasting effect on Chinese culture as the students return. Some of the cultural juxtapositions are startling: Haute Couture Designer Pierre

Cardin went to China and received permission to stage two fashion shows there in March. When Teng went to Japan, his wife and the wives of four other officials on the trip were turned out in trimly cut silk jackets and pants, an elegant change from the monochrome Mao suits that were for years the Chinese woman's revolutionary uniform.

Chinese stage shows and movies are in rapid transformation. The Peking Cinema College reopened this year after having been suspended for twelve years. The country's first X-rated film, a Japanese movie about prostitution, was shown to Chinese audiences and even defended by the *Kwangming Daily*, which said that it "greatly enlightened and educated the Chinese audience." The newspaper went on to argue that young people must be freed from the straitjacket of the Cultural Revolution. "The great spiritual wealth created by mankind was strange to them," it said. "They never heard of such names as Boccaccio, Michelangelo, Hugo and Mozart. Young people's minds were locked up in airtight cells. Now the prison has been smashed."

In a brief, astonishing display of what that liberty might produce, posters that attacked Mao, praised Teng and alluded favorably to the economic achievements of Taiwan went up at the end of November on Peking's "democracy wall." In remarkably open conversations with foreign newsmen, citizens of the capital asked searching questions about nonsocialist political systems, evincing particular interest in that of the U.S. Finally, a wall poster addressed to Jimmy Carter appeared on democracy wall. "We should like to ask you to pay attention to the state of human rights in China," it said. "The Chinese people do not want to repeat the tragic life of the Soviet people in the Gulag Archipelago. This will be a real test for your promise on human rights." The poster concluded with greetings to "your wife and family," and was signed "The Human Rights Group." Authorities removed the poster within a few hours, an indication that its message was unsanctioned. Liberalization has its carefully defined limits. The phenomenon of democracy wall, for all its air of spontaneity, had a quality of official orchestration about it.

None of China's new international gregariousness should obscure the bleak totalitarianism with which it maintains internal discipline. The discipline may be eased at times, but the mechanisms of control, especially through the *Pao-wai* forces, the secret police, remain at government disposal. In a report in November, Amnesty International, the human rights organization based in London, recorded a number of legal outrages. A teacher named Ho Chun-shu, for example, was said to have been executed at the beginning of 1978 for writing and distributing a "counterrevolutionary pamphlet." Last June, however, China released about 110,000 people who had been



The Great Leap Outward: Teng with then Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda of Japan and Nepal's Prime Minister Kirti Nidhi Bista



jailed since Mao's "antirightist" crackdown in 1957.

It is an index of a new Chinese sensitivity to foreign opinion that in November the *People's Daily* in Peking ran a full page of five articles outlining human rights criticisms and urging that new civil and criminal codes be adopted to protect those rights. "In some places," said the *People's Daily*, "the legal rights and interests of citizens are badly infringed. Rations are cut. Private property is taken away, rural markets are closed down, and legal economic activities are not guaranteed. All of these things can still happen."

What makes this sudden extroversion so fascinating is that China, from its earliest times, has been largely obscured to outside view and comprehension. Under its succession of imperial dynasties, the

Chinese defined the world as "all under heaven" and themselves as celestials of the Celestial Empire. "Throughout the ages," wrote Lu Hsiün, "the Chinese have had only two ways of looking at foreigners: up to them as superior beings or down on them as wild animals. They have never been able to treat them as friends, as people like themselves." China traditionally looked inward, suffering a foreign presence only when it was too weak to do otherwise. And during the half-century after the first Opium War (1839-42), during the Japanese Occupation of the 1930s and 1940s and during a brief infatuation with the Soviet Union in the 1950s, the Chinese may well have concluded that their prejudices were validated.

Nonetheless, China has felt the hunger to modernize before. Near the end of

the Ch'ing dynasty in 1898, under the Emperor Kuang Hsi, the Chinese tried to imitate the Japanese Emperor Meiji's transformation of Japan, from feudalism in the last half of the 19th century. In the early days of Sun Yat-sen's Republican China, an effort to streamline the society with foreign help ended in a bitter failure that eventually turned China toward puritanical socialism. The Chinese, wrote Historian C.P. Fitzgerald, "became disillusioned with the false gods of the West. They turned restlessly to some other solution."

After the People's Republic was founded in 1949, following a generation-long civil war between Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and Mao's Communists, China eliminated chronic unemployment and controlled the country's wanton inflation. But there were major disruptions.

Chairman Hua with the Shah of Iran, Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito





A billboard in Shanghai glorifying the New Long March toward modernization

"Take advantage of every minute, every second, to race to the year 2000."

Mao's Great Leap Forward (1958-60), with its preposterous backyard pig-iron furnaces and bureaucratic romance of communal farms, left the country in depression and famine. Less than a decade later came the Cultural Revolution, a three-year Maoist spasm of revolutionary zeal against the onset of complacency and bureaucracy. The Cultural Revolution dislocated nearly every institution of Chinese life, many of which still have not re-

covered. A case can be made that Mao lived too long. The Great Revolutionary died at 82, an enfeebled puppet. His legacy, after the Cultural Revolution, was a ramshackle economy, a badly equipped military and an educational system in which intellect and learning had been superseded by a dank, Orwellian passion for proletarian ideology.

Teng's modernization campaign has its origins in Premier Chou En-lai's re-

port on the work of the government delivered at the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975. It was the Premier's last publicized appearance outside a hospital (he died of cancer a year later). Chou sketched plans to improve China's agriculture by 1980 as part of "the Four Modernizations" that would "turn a poverty-stricken and backward country into a socialist one with the beginnings of prosperity in only 20 years or more." That report (and the Four Modernizations slogan) is widely believed to have been the work of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the little bureaucratic survivor, tough as a walnut, who was Chou's protégé.

It is difficult for Westerners to understand how so vast a population can psychologically reverse itself so quickly. It is like trying to imagine an aircraft carrier turning on a dime. Over the years, of course, the Chinese have been required to perform wrenching changes of allegiance, as friends became enemies and onetime heroes of the revolution underwent their metamorphoses in the character assassins' wall-poster invective that declared dissidents to be "insects," "pests" or "ferocious feudal monsters." The process has bred measures of confusion, sophistication, cynicism and nimbleness in the Chinese.

But the Chinese character instinctively believes that life constantly swings between extremes, that the law is always change, reversal. *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, the most popular classical and historical novel in China, begins this way: "They say that the momentum of history was ever thus: the empire, long divided, must unite; long united, must

A commune near Hangchow: of the Four Modernizations, agriculture probably has the highest priority and greatest difficulties

J. ALEX LANSLEY



Man of the Year

divide." In any case, the Chinese leaders, preparing for a reversal of nearly everything that Mao Tse-tung taught, have proceeded by subtle indirection to prepare the masses for de-Maoification.

Beginning with their arrest in October 1976, members of the radical Gang of Four, led by Mao's widow, Chiang Ch'ing, have been held responsible for everything from crop failures to the shortage of sidewalk cafés. Many of the accusations are justified. But in China now, when a foreigner mentions the Gang of Four, it often happens that the Chinese with whom he is talking will hold up five fingers and say, "Ah, yes, the Gang of Four." The small subversive joke reflects what most Chinese accept: that Mao not only permitted but encouraged the activities of his wife and her radical friends.

In turning toward modernization, Teng and his backers are attempting the delicate task of desanctifying Mao's memory without besmirching it completely. With doctrinal legerdemain, they put forth the line that Mao's philosophy was basically correct, but that it was distorted and misapplied by his onetime heir apparent Lin Biao—now the most vilified historical figure in China—and the Gang. Mao's sponsorship of the Cultural

Revolution is excused on the grounds that he was aged, infirm and confused.

In their guardedly complementary roles, Hua and Teng have so far managed to bridge the chasm between the sanctified but turbulent Maoist past and the future. Hua, who owes his career to Mao and honors his memory, pronounces, "Politics is the commander, the soul of everything, and failure to grasp political and ideological work will not do." During a conference not long ago, when Hua expounded Mao's philosophy, Teng retorted, "There are those who, day in and day out, talk of nothing but Mao Tse-tung's

thought while failing to grasp even its most fundamental elements: practical experience, the empirical method and the combination of theory with practice."

Neither the Hua nor the Teng faction has an effective majority on the Politburo. Both seem to understand that a doctrinal bloodletting at this time over the debunking of Mao would endanger the overall modernization program, on which both sides basically agree. Thus an apparent compromise has been struck. When posters appeared in Peking describing Mao's rule as "fascist" and "dictatorial," Teng pronounced soothingly, "Some

BILL PIERCE

utterances are not in the interest of stability and unity and the Four Modernizations." He told visiting American Columnist Robert Novak: "Every Chinese knows that without Chairman Mao there would have been no new China. In the process of achieving the Four Modernizations, we must be good at comprehensively and accurately grasping and applying Mao Tse-tung thought. There should be liveliness and ease of mind in the political life of our country."

In fact, the Chinese are being conditioned with some care to accept doctrine so heretically un-Maoist that it could have got a person imprisoned or executed a few years ago. One of the first es-



Shipbuilding in Shanghai (above) and a Chinese honor guard for visiting Premier Raymond Barre of France

ROBERT G. BIRD—LIFE, BLACK STAR





Wall poster denouncing the Gang of Four
The fingers ask: And Mao makes five?

sentials has been to deprogram the deeply rooted suspicion of things foreign. Hence the *Kwangming Daily's* recent line: "It is completely un-Marxist to adopt the foolish attitude of being complacent and arrogant and of uncritically excluding foreign science, technology and culture. We advocate learning from the strong points of all nations."

Another movement under way is the rehabilitation of persons considered "bourgeois." Kwangtung Radio announced that at Canton's Rubber Plant No. 7, "six former bourgeois owners" discharged during the Cultural Revolution have been rehired and assigned to administrative and production jobs. This is a clear application of Teng's pragmatism: it is a person's technical knowledge that the new China wants, not his political purity.

The Chinese emphasis on efficiency and competence can sometimes sound like an American political campaign against Big Government interference. The provincial radio station in Kansu complained in November: "There are too many inspection groups at company, bureau, municipal and provincial levels." The station objected that the number of slogan banners displayed at factories is often used as the criterion for judging whether the plant is doing well. In addition, "there are too many meetings."

A call has gone out for correct book-keeping. During the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath, said the *People's Daily*, leaders were interested only in "political accounts, not economic accounts. As a result, accounting work was greatly weakened and financial management was very confused."

Management of the highest order will be needed to achieve the Four Modernizations. Of these, agriculture probably has the highest priority; it is also the most



Mural of the Great Helmsman, created by spectators at China's 1975 National Games



Reading anti-Mao posters in Peking
Foxes can tolerate diversity.

difficult. The Peking leadership has set a goal of producing 400 million tons of wheat, rice and other grains by 1985 and for achieving substantial agricultural mechanization by 1980. Both goals seem too ambitious. Though land in China is intensively cultivated and Chinese farmers are known for their innovation and diligence, yields lag far behind those of other countries. Peking has conferred with foreign farm experts, including U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Bob Bergland, about new seed varieties, the use of insecticides and the exchange of specialists. While the Chinese have made some progress toward mechanization, they need more than 1 million additional tractors, 320,000 trucks, at least 3 million combine harvesters, new drainage and irrigation machinery and 700,000 technicians for machinery repair and maintenance. The hardware will be difficult to get, since farm equipment is normally bought with surplus cap-

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ital, which China must ordinarily use to purchase grain from abroad. Result: China is likely to remain a net importer of grain, and the rationing of edible oils and other staples will probably continue.

Foreign investment and technical aid will go far in bringing China's industrial capacity into the 20th century, the goal of the second modernization. Imitating such developing countries as Singapore and South Korea, the People's Republic has invited foreign companies to establish assembly and processing plants inside China. The Chinese work cheap—at about \$25 a month, one-fifth of the average wage for an unskilled factory worker in Hong Kong.

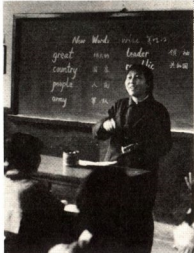
But the problems of industrializing a country so primitively equipped are huge. China's gross national product was only \$373 billion in 1977, compared to \$1.889 trillion for the U.S. The Chinese per capita income was a lamentable \$378. A generator plant in Harbin uses lathes, punch presses and milling machines that were built two and three decades ago in Czechoslovakia, East Germany and the Soviet Union. Japan builds 94 cars per worker per year; in China the comparable figures are one car, one worker. Steel, the essential building component for heavy industry, is regarded as a precious metal in China. The production goal for 1985 is 60 million tons; last year it fell just short of the halfway mark. Teng is characteristically candid about the problem. He refers to *lo hoo* (lagging behind). "If you have an ugly face," he says, "there is no use pretending you are handsome. You cannot hide it, so you might just as well admit it."

One of the areas hardest hit by the turbulence of the Cultural Revolution was science/technology; the finest minds were sent to the country to learn egalitarianism and pig farming. Intellectuals until recently were branded as "stinking persons of the ninth category."

As a result, the Chinese pool of scientists and engineers who kept up to date in their various fields grew perilously small. Teng's modernization drive now aims at rehabilitating scientists who were shunted to other work, at re-establishing research institutes and academies. According to one report, in Szechwan province alone 12,000 scientists and technicians have so far been returned to their old jobs from unrelated professions.

Despite the political depredations of Maoist anti-intellectualism, the Chinese are probably more confident of progress in this area than in any other of the Four Modernizations. The initial Chinese objective is the establishment within five years of a research network for the basic sciences, then a system of modern lab-

*The first eight categories being the other loathsome characters to be got rid of: renegades, spies, capitalist roaders, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad people, rightists.



Teaching an English class in Tsinan

Egalitarianism meant no exams.

oratories that will press on with research into what the Chinese (who have a sort of political fetish for numbers) call the Five Golden Blossoms: atomic science, semiconductors, computer technology, lasers and automation. In March, Vice Premier Fang Yi reported an eight-year timetable for China to begin the launching of space laboratories and probes.

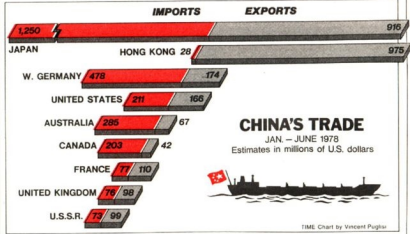
Teng seems to have recognized the tumble-down state of Chinese learning. Today there are only about 630,000 university students in a population of 1 billion. Nationwide examinations for admission to universities were dropped in 1966 as part of the egalitarianism of the Cultural Revolution. Now they have not only been reinstated, but they have become rigorous and uniform. Elite schools have been established and given the best teachers and facilities. Among teachers, ranks and titles have been restored. Salary increases and other perquisites have been adopted. But the intellectual infrastructure of China is still cripplingly weak.

The fourth modernization, that of the military, will be almost as difficult to accomplish. Although it has the world's largest standing army (about 3½ million), China's military machine is primitive, at least 20 years behind those of the superpowers. China's most potent bomber is the antiquated TU-16 of 1954. The People's Liberation Army has no antitank missiles, no armored helicopters and no modern battle tanks. Its nuclear warheads are mounted on intermediate-range missiles with a range of no more than 4,000 miles. Although China's navy is the world's third largest (in terms of manpower, not of ships), it is also outdated; its two nuclear-powered submarines, for example, carry no missiles.

China's obsessive military concern remains the U.S.S.R., just as Moscow's prevailing concern is the nature of Peking's goals. Peking's new open door policy toward the rest of the world will make it a stronger and more flexible rival of Moscow in the years to come. By simultaneously cultivating ties with Western—and even Eastern—Europe and with Japan, China is developing flank protection on two sides of its Soviet enemy.

The emerging pattern exasperates Moscow. Among other things, the Soviets profess astonishment that the West is willing to sell weapons to an unreliable China that still speaks of the inevitability of war. At the same time, the Russians seem willing enough to accept the normalization of relations between the U.S. and China, so long as the new friendship does not produce a tacit anti-Soviet alliance. Warns George Arbatov, a Soviet expert on U.S. policy: "You cannot reconcile détente with attempts to make China some sort of military ally of NATO." A Western diplomat also cautioned: "I wonder if an economically and militarily powerful China by the year 2000 would be an unmitigated blessing for American interests. Would a China strong enough to threaten Russia in nuclear terms not constitute any threat to us at all?"

The U.S. normalization of relations



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with the People's Republic brings to full circle an extraordinary one-century course of American involvement in China. It is a history of passionate infatuation and ruthless exploitation, of missionary zeal and often of tremendous mutual incomprehension. The cycle started with the education in Hartford, Conn., of China's first foreign students in 1872. Eventually, as Dean Acheson wrote, "hardly a town in our land was without its society to collect funds and clothing for Chinese missions . . . Thus was nourished the love portion of our love-hate complex that was to infuse so much emotion into our later China policy."

If there was condescending benevolence on America's part, there was also a deep cultural fascination—on both sides. Eventually many Americans seemed to

the task of modernization to jeopardize it by making aggressive noises, either to foreigners or to themselves. The consensus among Sinologists is that Teng is indeed the man in charge; he holds enough power to be able to take his revenge on old Radical enemies, but still operates within constraints. "There are still some people in the Politburo who probably don't like the trends," says A. Doak Barnett of the Brookings Institution. "But these same people are also uneasy because of their past complicity, so to speak, in the purges of Teng. I think they will now be very careful in voicing their dissent."

Some Sinologists have long predicted that China would swing away from the ideological conflicts of Mao's last days to some form of pragmatic modernization. "The extreme emphasis on utopian so-

supporters are willing to transform China at a greater cost to the core values of the Chinese Revolution than are Hua and his supporters."

TIME Hong Kong Correspondent Ross H. Munro, who until last December was a resident reporter in Peking for the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, has a more optimistic perspective:

"Teng can be seen as setting up booby traps for any neo-quasi-Maoists who might try to renege on the commitment to modernization and try to return China to insularity. When Teng is dead, China will still have commitments to foreign creditors that will force it to continue pushing exports and internal economic development. When Teng is dead, there will probably be tens of thousands of bright young men and women in China who have been exposed to foreign teachers and foreign ideas and who will resist any return to xenophobia and romantic Maoism. And there may even be a military that will be unable to function without parts and technology from Hamburg or Los Angeles. Teng is thus beginning to lock China into the non-Communist orbit. If current trends continue for a decade, it is hard to conceive of China extricating itself from the orbit even if the modernization drive falters within the country."



President Ford joking with Teng during his visit to Peking in 1975

A persistent heretic who gives lip service to the ideas of the Great Helmsman.

have found in Chinese society forgotten revolutionary hopes transplanted from their own, and many Chinese discovered an unsuspected delight (even Mao finally did) in the mobility and openness of American society, the antithesis of China's own introspective and hierarchical world. In the late 1970s, many Americans are inclined to forget their view of the Chinese, during the Korean War, as a menacing anti-people in quilted jackets swarming across the Yalu River and brainwashing American innocents.

The most fascinating thing about China now is that it is a society facing almost infinite possibilities: No one, perhaps least of all the Chinese, knows how the tremendous experiment will end. Talking to a Japanese political delegation in Tokyo last October about a territorial dispute, Teng remarked: "Let's put it off for ten or 20 years. After that, who knows what kind of system we'll have?"

For the moment, Teng, Hua and their Politburo colleagues seem too intent upon

cial goals," says Barnett, "was asking more out of a population than any population can be expected to give." Still, there is a very real danger that the Peking leaders could oversell their program to the Chinese people and thus provoke disillusionment and bitterness if there are no noticeable changes for the better in the next few years.

The Politburo clearly faces very hard decisions on how to allocate what are limited resources, considering the size of the task. If China must import 10 million tons of grain to feed its people by 1981, argues Swarthmore College Sinologist Kenneth Lieberthal, it will be almost impossible for the country to carry out its industrialization program at the speed it foresees. Also at issue will be what happens to the Four Modernizations if Teng dies before they are well under way. The basic Teng-Hua conflict would then be unresolved. In Lieberthal's formulation: "While all current Politburo members desperately want rapid modernization, Teng and his

And what of Teng himself, the persistent heretic who gives lip service to the ideas of the Great Helmsman but who violates their spirit? Speaking as a historian and not as Carter's National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski offers one answer. "Any large system of thought and practice," he says, "lends itself to so many divergent interpretations that it is possible to be both a continuator and a dismantler of a certain ideological system at the same time. Trotsky and Stalin charged each other with being betrayers of Leninism, and each claimed to be the true inheritor of Leninism. In some respects, both were right in both instances." Perhaps inadvertently, Mao once gave his blessing to this kind of interpretation with his famous quote before the misbegotten Great Leap Forward: "Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend."

In an essay called *The Hedgehog and the Fox*, British Social Theorist Isaiah Berlin divided the world's thinkers into two categories, using as his guide an enigmatic fragment from the Greek poet Archilochus: "The fox knows many things; the hedgehog knows one big thing." Mao was quintessential hedgehog, a visionary with one organizing determinist principle to which he insisted the great diverse Chinese reality must conform. Hedgehogs like totalitarian worlds. Foxes can tolerate diversity, variety, change, disorder, the sheer plurality of life. It may be fateful for China's future that Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who languished for years in the shadow of China's hedgehog, is most certainly a fox. ■

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Man of the Year

Little Man in a Big Hurry

An old revolutionary with scarcely a second to waste

Henry Kissinger has no recollection of ever calling Teng Hsiao-p'ing "a nasty little man," the celebrated epithet with which the former Secretary of State is often credited. As Kissinger told TIME last week, "He struck me as extremely able and tough. He had great skill in handling the bureaucratic mechanisms. When I met him [in 1975], Teng had not concentrated very much on foreign policy, but he learned fast. He's a man of no mean consequence."

Some other world leaders held different views. Nikita Khrushchev ignored him when they met, despite Mao Tse-tung's accurate advice that the "little man" had "a great future ahead of him." Mao's wife, Chiang Ch'ing, despised him, and twice her radical supporters vilified him as China's most evil "capitalist roadster." At one Politburo meeting in 1975, Mao asked all those in opposition to one of his proposals to stand up. When Teng did so, the Great Helmsman looked at him coldly and reportedly said, "Since I see nobody standing up, my proposal is unanimously adopted."

Even by Chinese standards, Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing is small in stature (4 ft. 11 in.). Psychologists might argue that his size explains in part Teng's life-long reputation for feistiness, irascibility and driving ambition. He is a highly emotional man, with a reputation for vengefulness. Teng is respected rather than loved by the Chinese, and appears to have cronies and allies rather than friends. For all that, he is China's great survivor; at 74 he has embarked with unflinching energy on the most intrepid political adventure of his life.

Teng still speaks, in a shrill tenor, with the thick accent of Szechwan, a province of central China known for its spicy cuisine, gentle climate and soaring, mountainous scenery. Little is known of Teng's early life or, for that matter, of his private life today. He is believed to be the son of a landlord. He was born in 1904 in Hsieh-hsing, a village near China's wartime capital of Chungking. His given name was Kan Tse-kao, which he changed to Teng Hsiao-p'ing (an underground alias that means Little Peace) when he joined the Communist Party in 1925.

After completing high school, Teng was one of 92 boys from China awarded scholarships to study in France. Instead of studying, the 16-year-old Teng got a job in a Paris galosh factory. At the same time, he helped out in the offices of a Chinese Communist periodical called *Red Light*. Its editor was Chou En-lai, who later became Teng's patron and protector. Teng's zeal in carrying out the menial

chores of binding and mimeographing the magazine soon earned him the nickname of "Doctor of Mimeography."

After joining the party, Teng studied briefly at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow and then returned to China in 1926. He rose rapidly in party ranks, becoming political commissar of the Communist Seventh Army at the age of 25. By that time he was a convert to the guerrilla strategies of Mao Tse-tung, the new chairman of the party's military committee. When these theories were attacked by other Communist leaders, Teng was out-



Teng with Chou, left, in Moscow (1963)

"What storms haven't I braved?"

ed from office—the first of three times he was to suffer this ignominious fate.

Eventually Teng was restored to good standing and became editor of the army newspaper *Red Star*. In 1934, he joined Mao's legendary Long March—the heroic, 6,000-mile trek by the party's forces, under constant harassment by Chiang Kai-shek's armies—to remote Yen-an, in Shensi province. Food was scarce in the mountainous caves, but Teng rose ingeniously to the occasion. According to Chou's secretary, Yang Yi-chih, Teng earned the gratitude of Mao and other party leaders because of his skills, not in the military arts, but in cooking. He was justly famous for devising a tasty confection known as Teng's "Hung shao

Ko-juo" (Dog meat with brown sauce).

During World War II, Teng helped set up a highly effective guerrilla force against the Japanese in North China. After Japan's surrender, the group continued its operations against Chiang's Nationalist armies. When the Communists took power in 1949, Teng served as the party boss of South China and the mayor of Chungking. Called to Peking in 1952, he held a variety of major posts, some of them simultaneously: Finance Minister, Secretary of the Central Committee, Vice Chairman of National Defense, Secretary-General of the Communist Party. In 1956 he was appointed to the Politburo's seven-man standing committee.

As Teng's power grew, his relationship with Mao degenerated. The Chairman complained that Teng rarely consulted him and treated him as a "dead ancestor." In the aftermath of Mao's disastrous Great Leap Forward, Teng tried to reintroduce a measure of private farming to give peasants the initiative to produce more food. In a statement that would later be cited as proof that he was an "unrepentant capitalist roadster," Teng declared: "Private farming is all right as long as it raises production, just as it doesn't matter whether a cat is black or white as long as it catches mice." Mao was not informed of the farming plan, and testily inquired, "Which emperor decided this?"

Still, Teng managed to survive until a power struggle broke out in 1966 between Mao and Chief of State Liu Shao-ch'i. Mao felt that Liu and his pragmatic allies, of whom Teng was foremost, had created highly bureaucratic "independent kingdoms" based on a system that was unresponsive to the needs of the party and the people. In 1965 Liu was denounced as a "renegade, scab and traitor," expelled from the Communist Party "forever" and sent to prison, where he reportedly died in 1973. (There are rumors in Peking that his reputation may be cleared posthumously.)

Teng attended the first Red Guard rallies, but he was soon singled out as a key target of the radical youths who spearheaded Mao's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Teng was exoriated in the press as "Liu's henchman" and "even more sinister and dangerous than Liu." Pamphlets and wall posters claimed that Teng's consuming bourgeois passions were mah-jongg and bridge. While supposedly on inspection tours, it was charged, Teng was traveling around the country on specially chartered trains and planes with his card-playing cronies.

Eventually, Teng was driven through the streets of Peking in a truck, with a

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Man of the Year

dunce cap pulled over his ears, while the Red Guards jeered. One of his two brothers, Teng Ken, was purged from his post as deputy mayor of Chungking. The other, Teng Shu-p'ing, is believed to have committed suicide in 1966 following attacks against him by the Red Guards. Teng's only daughter, Pu Fang, was assaulted and crippled in a similar attack.

Though Teng escaped arrest and was not formally expelled from the Communist Party, he was given a degrading job serving meals in the mess hall of a party school in Hopeh, close to where he had once led triumphant Red forces against the Nationalists in 1947. In a humiliating self-criticism that now reads rather like a manifesto for the future, Teng confessed that his "way of thinking and style of work" were incompatible with Mao's.

Chou En-lai could not or would not help Teng during the worst of his ordeal, but the Premier did reach out a hand to his old comrade once the Cultural Revolution had subsided. It was Chou who evidently engineered Teng's dramatic reappearance at a 1973 Peking banquet for Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk. As diners stared in disbelief, the erstwhile "unrepentant capitalist roadster" was led to a seat by a niece of Mao's. It was thereupon announced that Teng still held the post of Vice Premier. As Chou's health gradually deteriorated, Teng emerged more and more as his heir apparent. He

toured the provinces, spoke for China at the United Nations and received President Gerald Ford in Peking. Meanwhile, Teng carried out a running verbal battle with Chiang Ch'ing, whom he blamed for the ferocity of the Cultural Revolution. Mao's wife hoped that her radical faction would seize full power in China, after the deaths of Chou and Mao, against the will of her bitterest enemy, Teng.

By the spring of 1976, Chiang Ch'ing and her radical faction had prevailed—temporarily. Chou was dead. Mao was dying. And Teng was once more in disgrace. The ostensible cause of Teng's second downfall was unprecedented rioting that occurred in Peking's T'ien An Men Square when a commemoration ceremony for Chou was canceled without explanation. The violent demonstrations by would-be mourners were quickly condemned as counterrevolutionary acts, allegedly incited by Teng and his followers. Two days after the riots, Teng was stripped of all his posts. Among his accusers was Hua Kuo-feng, who took over as Chairman following Mao's death five months later.

During his 20 years of service in the Communist military apparatus, Teng had established deep personal and political ties with high-ranking officers. When threatened with assassination by the radicals, the Vice Premier relied on these con-

tacts to escape the capital. One old comrade-in-arms, General Hsu Shih-yu, offered him sanctuary in a Kwangtung province resort that was reserved for the military elite. Teng waited there in limbo for a year.

When Hua had Chiang Ch'ing and her Gang of Four arrested in October 1976, Teng wrote a letter to the Central Committee expressing his joy over the event. A rash of wall posters in Peking and other cities called upon the Chinese people to "warmly welcome and firmly support" Teng's return—the signal, in July 1977, for his reappointment to all his posts.

Since then, Teng has progressed toward his ambitions for China with the speed of a septuagenarian who has scarcely a second to waste. Typically, vengeance remains one of those goals. In the past 16 months, more than 100,000 victims of the Cultural Revolution and of Chiang Ch'ing's ire have been released from prison or have returned from forced labor. But at the same time, thousands of radical officials, former Red Guards and Teng's personal enemies have been purged. Teng will not tolerate anyone or anything that stands in his way, nor does he need to in a state that remains as authoritarian as China is today. "I am an old revolutionary," he said last year. "What storms haven't I braved and what wounds haven't I faced up to?" ■

One sign of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's ever growing influence within China is the special attention that the country's journals and radio broadcasts now give to reporting and analyzing his speeches and interviews. Although no match for the late Great Helmsman as a polished phrasemaker and poet, Teng does have a flair for earthy aphorism. A sampling of quotations by the Vice-Chairman:

His golden rule: Practice is the only norm for verifying truth.

On utilizing scientists: It is better to allow them to work than to have them sitting in a privy, producing nothing.

On development: It's no good to do things in a hurry. Desire to have things done quickly prevents their being done thoroughly. The more the urging, the less the progress.

On modernization: Raise the quantity and raise the quality. When automation is raised, manual labor will be reduced. The advanced countries of the world, no matter under what systems, have all taken this road. Are they laborers? They are called productive forces; that is, they are laborers.

On China's future: In our country, as counterrevolution weakens, dictatorship will have to be pared away and democracy broadened.

On revolution: It is a difficult thing. If you want to make revolution, you shouldn't be afraid of difficulties. If you are afraid of difficulties, don't make revolution.

On his education: I have never actually studied in a university. The kind of university I was in has no graduates.

Its name is society. The day I meet God is when I will graduate, and who knows how many grades I will get from God?

On the superpowers (1974): The U.S. and the Soviet Union are vainly seeking world hegemony. The two superpowers are the biggest exploiters and oppressors of today. The imperialists, and the superpowers in particular, are beset with troubles and are on the decline. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this is the irresistible trend of history.

On Viet Nam, China's former ally: There is a hooligan in the East. I am sure that we all understand about the word Cuba and about the Cuba of the East.

On his struggle with the Gang of Four: I let the Gang of Four grab my tail and give me a sound flogging. Perhaps you comrades would say that it was Chairman Mao who relieved me of my former jobs and dismissed me from office. As a matter of fact, it wasn't so. I would rather call it a decree of fate. Chiang Ch'ing used to laugh at me, saying that my head was bullet-shaped and couldn't wear official headgear securely. . . . As long as class struggle exists, there will be persons like the Gang of Four. Otherwise, there would be no class struggle.

On mistakes (in the mid-'60s): No one is free from shortcomings. Take, for example, people like us, our cadres doing political work and our veteran cadres who have been in the party for decades. Do we not also have shortcomings or errors of this kind or that? Chairman Mao often errs too. But we all know that his errors are fewer than ours.

QUOTATIONS FROM VICE CHAIRMAN TENG HSIAO-PING



Beyond Confucius and Kung Fu

A varied landscape, countless dialects, and traces of a "decadent" past

Ever since the first Yankee clipper set sail for Canton in 1784, China has held a compelling fascination for Americans. Traders and other early visitors to the Celestial Kingdom returned home with tales of teeming millions, exotic landscapes, seemingly outlandish manners and morals. Even today some Americans have a vision of China that is a fanciful montage of antithetical images: Confucius and Kung Fu; Wellesley-educated Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Mao's "sinister" widow Chiang Ch'ing; highborn ladies tiptoeing painfully on bound feet and unisex masses marching in bulky Mao jackets; delicately misty watercolors and propaganda posters as crude as comic strips; hundred-year-old eggs and gunpowder; opium dens and Buddhist pagodas; the imperturbable mandarin sage and the fanatical archcriminal Dr. Fu Manchu.

As China opens up again after 30 years of isolation, thousands of American visitors will have the opportunity of testing some of these timeworn images against the reality.

China's numbers defy the imagination: one-fourth of the world's people inhabit a mere 7% of its land area, a country 76,400 sq. mi. larger than the U.S. Although no accurate census has been taken in 25 years, demographers think

that sometime around the middle of 1978 the total population surpassed 1 billion. Approximately 85% of these people live in rural areas. Nonetheless, China still has 13 of the 50 most populous cities in the world. Metropolitan Shanghai, with an estimated 12 million inhabitants, has about half a million more people than Tokyo.

The great majority of the people are ethnic Chinese, or Han, as they have termed themselves since the Han dynasty (202 B.C.—A.D. 220). In addition, there are 54 separate national minorities, totaling 40 million. These include 1.7 million Mongols, who were once ruled by Genghis Khan, 1.3 million mountain-dwelling Tibetans, 500,000 Kazakh and 65,000 Kirgiz nomads, 7 million Thai-speaking Chuang, a scattering of Miao and Puyi peasants in the southwestern provinces, and caste-conscious Yi clans in Szechwan. Despite Peking's efforts to promote Mandarin as China's common language, the country still has countless spoken dialects.

Most of China's varied landscape is inhospitable to human life. The three largest border regions (Sinkiang, Tibet and Inner Mongolia) that constitute nearly 40% of China's land mass support only 2% of the population. In the west and northwest are immense stretches of desolation, including the sere, uninhabited stretches of desert and the frozen reaches of Tibet. To the north is the wheat and

millet zone, a land of brown, eroded hills, broad turbulent rivers, and tens of thousands of dusty mud-walled villages. Rainfall is so irregular and water so scarce that for thousands of years peasants of these villages, armed with picks and shovels, have fought one another over rights to the flow of a tiny stream or canal. Summers bring searing heat; the harsh winds of fall and winter spread stinging particles of yellow dust from the Gobi, a desert as empty as Africa's Sahara.

By comparison with the forbidding north, the huge stretches of riceland in the south are luxuriant and subtropical. Rainfall is abundant. Flooded paddy fields curve around river valleys or climb in intricate contoured patterns up one hill and down another. In central China's Szechwan province, where Teng Hsiao-p'ing was born, the Yangtze River cuts through lofty limestone mountains, cascades through a series of spectacular gorges into the rich farm land of the Red Basin, finally emptying into the East China Sea at Shanghai.

Although basically agrarian and inward-looking, China has 11,250 miles of coastline and numerous large ports. Well before Columbus was born, the Chinese were sending their ships around southeast Asia. In the early 15th century a celebrated eunuch of the Sung court, Cheng Ho, led a series of seafaring expeditions across the Indian Ocean to Arabia and Africa.

The essential fact about the geography of China is that it obliges most of its peo-



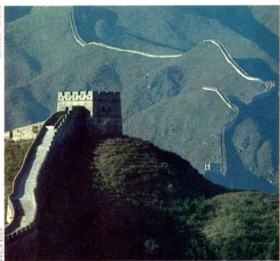


Mongolian herdsmen using traditional lasso driving sturdy local ponies across a steppe in China's Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region

SHIRAZI—MAGNUM



WILSON—GRIFFIN



PAUL G. BOON

Clockwise from above: pleasure pavilion in Kweilin; the Great Wall; manicured fields of Chungking commune; section of Shanghai's waterfront



JOHN S. BROWN



Couple holding hands on a stroll along Hangchow lake



Above, children building model airplanes; below, TV display in Peking



Lineup of latest-model hair dryers in Shanghai beauty parlor



Buying eggs in Shanghai (above) and window-shopping in Nanking



Man of the Year

ple to live on the great alluvial plains of the south and east, which provide barely one-third of an acre of cultivable land per person and crop yields per acre far lower than in the U.S. or Europe. Indeed, China has been trapped for centuries in a classic Malthusian crunch. Periods of peace and prosperity lead to a growth of population. Then, inevitably, floods or drought reduce the slender food supply, leading to the famines that have afflicted the people as regularly as wars and rebellions in China's 3,000 years of recorded history.

It is scarcely surprising that a nationwide preoccupation with food has led to an obsession with cuisine. China is matched only by France as producer of the culinary marvels of the world. Lightly cooked to save fuel, Chinese dishes make use of every available food. The great chefs of Canton make even pig ears, fish lips, dog chops and snake chowder taste delicious.

Nearly 40% of the Chinese people—400 million of them—are under 18 years of age. That stunning fact points to one notable failure of the Peking government: its inability to lower the birth rate despite contraception campaigns, restrictions on marriage (no younger than 28 for men, 25 for women in urban areas), and pressure to limit families to two children. The peasants in particular have been uncooperative. The bone-wearying life on rural communes obliges people to retire at dusk, especially since even homes with electricity may be only lucky enough to get one 25-watt light bulb a year. Moreover, peasants calculate that additional children will earn the family extra work points, translatable into meat, soap and other strictly rationed items.

Compounding the problem, according to a broadcast from Kwangtung province this month, are party administrators on the communes who have set a bad example. On one big farm, for instance, a top official has just sired his seventh child. As a result, the broadcast charged, the birth rate for the entire commune had soared to 30 births per thousand this year, as compared with an average of 22 for the rest of the country.

In the cities, however, the marriage restrictions are more severely enforced; many single workers live in segregated dormitories. Opportunities for courtship are limited, although, now that the rigors of the Cultural Revolution have subsided, young couples are once again allowed to stroll hand in hand in the streets or even cuddle on benches. Secluded areas of public parks are increasingly used for after-dark trysts.

Still, the official moralistic ethic—it might almost be called Puritan—prevails. China's leaders inveigh against the licen-

tious life-style of the imperial past. When Mao's widow Chiang Ch'ing first came under attack, she was frequently portrayed as a latter-day Empress Wu Tse-t'ien, whose career began in the 7th century as a 13-year-old court concubine and ended in an orgy of sex and assassination. Another execrated royal personage is the 8th century Emperor Hsüan Tsung, who was hopelessly enamored of a shapeless concubine, Yang Kuei-fei. With characteristic Chinese panache, he built a summer palace for her with 16 bathing pools, where the lady was wont to wash her statuesque limbs under the Emperor's besotted gaze.

Mao's overriding ambition was to rid China of all traces of its decadent past, while at the same time transforming the Chinese national character. His instrument was a vast totalitarian party and po-

ples to pray for the success of some endeavor.

As Sinologists eagerly point out, comprehending China's present is impossible without knowing China's past. For example, the dramatic change from the inward-looking policies of Mao's last years to Teng's Great Leap Outward can be seen as merely the latest chapter in a 100-year-old struggle between xenophobic conservatives and Westernizing pragmatists. Reaching further back into history, China has regularly alternated cycles of philistine authoritarianism with eras of great learning and reform.

Even the characters in these recurrent historical dramas seem to bear an uncanny resemblance to one another. There are strong parallels between Mao and China's first emperor, Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, who took power in the 3rd century B.C. Contemptuous of the scholarly bureaucrats who were trying to persuade China's feudal despots to rule according to Confucius' ethical principles, the first emperor ordered 460 scholars buried alive, and burned all books that did not deal with practical subjects like agriculture and divination. Some 2,200 years later, Mao placed a ban on Confucius and subjected the entire Chinese intelligentsia to his own strict controls and often fearful punishments while condemning many of their books to the incinerator.

Other analogies abound. Ch'in Shih Huang Ti was the first leader to unify all China. As a barrier to invasion from the north, the Emperor built the 2,400-mile-long Great Wall of China—a project that cost the lives of up to 1 million slave laborers. Mao's own efforts to forcibly mobilize China's masses to "move mountains" are comparable. The Chairman's rampaging Red Guards resembled nothing so much as the rabid young "Boxers" of 1900, unleashed by the Empress Dowager, Tz'u-hsi, in order to rid China of evil foreign influences.

There are also striking similarities between Teng's Four Modernizations program and the aspirations of a group of officials who pioneered the so-called self-strengthening movement 100 years ago. Seeking to remedy China's backwardness, the self-strengtheners sent students abroad, absorbed Western technical literature, built modern arsenals and railroads. One celebrated self-strengthening, Feng Kuei-fen, asked the rhetorical question: "Why are the Western powers small yet strong, while China is large yet weak?" His answer: "China had spiritual greatness but the foreigners had the practical know-how." "Use the instruments of the foreign barbarians without adopting their ways," he exhorted. In the past few months China has revived a similar slogan: MAKE FOREIGN THINGS SERVE CHINA.



Portrait of Philosopher Confucius (551-479 B.C.)

460 scholars were buried alive for promoting his ideas.

lice apparatus that reaches into every facet of daily life, that controls what a Chinese can read, where he can travel, how he should live. Despite the omnipresence of this Orwellian machinery, many practices of the feudal past are observed. In the privacy of their homes, there are many peasant families who still pray to Kuan-yin, the goddess of mercy, and burn incense to their ancestors. Ouija boards are regularly consulted to foretell the future. On the communes, matchmakers arrange marriages and would-be bridegrooms pay traditional bride prices, although now with a socialist tinge: an industrious girl who earns many work points (on which salaries in communes are based) brings a better price than a more indolent maiden. Even in the supposedly sophisticated cities, people often visit abandoned tem-

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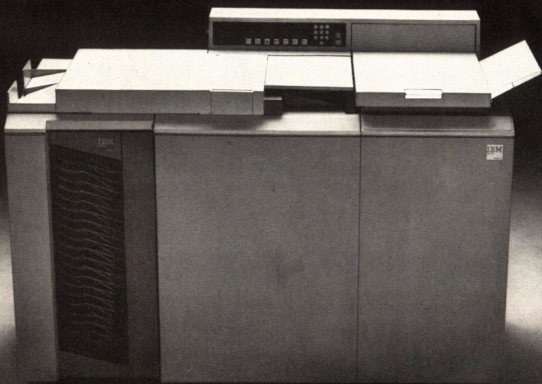
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Man of the Year

A Country with a Long Way to Go

Seediness, poverty and neglect belie the propaganda images

The dusty reality of China remains today surprisingly different from the glowing myth so long propagated by Peking's ideologues. After touring the southern provinces, *TIME* Hong Kong Correspondent Richard Bernstein, who speaks Chinese, last week reported these impressions:

The nameless small alley is littered with discarded, rusting kerosene cans and shards from broken roof tiles. Ragged bundles of kindling wood tied with string line the sidewalk. Chipped red bricks, tin washbasins and wooden buckets for carrying water are scattered

everywhere. To be sure, China has its imposing factories and impressive, lush communes to show off to visitors. But to wander into small urban streets or tiny rural villages is to discover what may come closest to the real China. It is a country with a long way to go.

Local propaganda boasts that at the time of "liberation," Nanning had only four factories and was a "consumer city," importing the produce of other areas to sustain itself. Now, authorities proudly point out, Nanning has quintupled in population, it has 400 factories, and it has been transformed into a "socialist produc-

tion" center. Still ubiquitous portraits of Chairmen Mao Tse-tung and Hua Kuo-feng lined up side by side like altar gods.

None of the apartments have toilets; instead the residents use a large common facility around the corner from their alley. The apartment dwellings look as though they were constructed decades ago. In fact, they are barely twelve years old, having been built in 1966, just before the beginning of the Cultural Revolution that plunged China into a decade of chaos.

"Since then, the Gang of Four has prevented us from making any progress," claims one resident of the Nanning alley, a worker in a film production studio. "We are very backward," he says, and adds, "If you return in ten years, you will find everything changed. We are going to make it all over again, all new and modern in ten years' time."

That statement is heard throughout China. Propaganda slogans calling on the people to contribute more to the Four Modernizations are ubiquitous. Factory managers, commune heads, workers on shop floors, all seem to be imbued with the religion of the modernization, which is gradually replacing the religion of Maoism. There is an almost palpable feeling that China, inspired by the hardheaded realism of Teng Hsiao-ping, has turned a fabulous new corner. But, despite obvious and portentous policy changes, the China that meets the eye and the ear is only marginally different from the China of six years ago.

In the heady days of 1972's Ping Pong diplomacy, foreign visitors started trooping to China and writing often rhapsodic reports. Now, as then, there is strong evidence that the Chinese—at least in areas open to foreign visitors—have an adequate if spare diet, that most enjoy basic good health, that they are adequately if unstylishly clothed. But it is hard to discern any real improvement in living standards.

The cities are extremely dilapidated. Their most common features: stained whitewashed facades, crumbling brick, worn, peeling wooden doors. Even some proud monuments suffer from a lack of care. In Canton, the principal theater is the 5,000-seat Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, built in 1951. The hall still looks imposing from a distance. Inside, the walls are shabby, and the pillars and beams, once decorated in temple-of-heaven-style brilliance, are faded and unrestored.

A comparatively wealthy and sophis-



Street scene in Nanning: at left, woman gets water from communal spigot

Also, naked light bulbs, inadequate ventilation and braziers in shared kitchens.

over the hard-packed earth. A few bicycles, all carefully locked, lean against the facades of three-story buildings. Three chickens cluck quietly inside a slatted wooden cage. Children mill about, some of them skipping rope, while their parents do the weekend wash, drawing water from streetside cold-water spigots.

The seediness and poverty of this street scene is a far cry from the calendar-picture China: ruddy-cheeked girls picking ripe fruit in an Eden-like orchard, smiling, neatly dressed workers in a brightly lit industrial plant. But this small alley in the provincial city of Nanning (pop. 500,000), capital of the Kwangsi Autonomous Region bordering North Viet Nam, is typical of China's overall appearance.

er city." There are an impressive hospital, housing complexes and several well-laid-out factories employing thousands of workers.

But Nanning is also poor. On this little alley, as in so many others, the houses have no running water. Most rooms are lit by dim naked light bulbs that dangle by electrical wires from the ceilings. Window casements are broken, cracked and stained. Nothing looks new or even recently painted. There is inadequate ventilation in the hot summer months. Small braziers, fueled by stamped cakes made from coal dust and mud, serve as the only cooking appliances in shared kitchens. Families live in two or, at most, three small rooms, decorated primarily with peeling propaganda posters or the

ticated city, Canton shows signs of the regime's increasing tolerance of individuality. Hair styles, for example, are becoming more varied; many women sport pageboy-style cuts or have even had permanent waves. Earnest pigtaileds, however, are still the rule rather than the exception. There is more color in clothing styles; a red-and-black plaid is now particularly popular. But both men and women continue to wear drab, baggy, amply patched blue-and-gray unisex work suits.

There has been no diminution of China's incessant sloganeering, although the messages have changed from abstract ideology (TAKE CLASS STRUGGLE AS THE KEY LINK) to goal-oriented pragmatism (MAKE GREATER CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS.) Children can now sing about being airplane pilots and flying high in the beautiful sky, as they did in one Canton kindergarten. But these three- and four-year-olds are also taught the obligatory hymns to Chairman Mao, indicating that political indoctrination remains a cradle-to-grave affair. Bombastic recordings of *The East Is Red*, the most common paean to Mao, complete with loud cries for The Great Helmsman's longevity, still resound through airport lounges or railroad-station waiting rooms. Exhortatory radio broadcasts blast out over public loudspeakers in factories and communes. In Nanning, today's big stage hit celebrates the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Kwangsi Autonomous Region. The show is an interminable series of extravagant clichés depicting the glorious history of the Communist Party in Kwangsi.

Art that does not conform to the canons of socialist realism is now being tolerated. A sign outside the chief bookstore in the city of Kweilin advertises a ten-volume set of *The Book of History*, a newly rehabilitated Confucian classic. In art schools and painters' studios, traditional scenes of mountains and valleys now predominate, rather than portraits of revolutionary heroes. At Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall in Canton, the Central Philharmonic now plays piano works by Liszt and violin pieces by Sarasate, composers who a few years ago would have been denounced as "decadent bourgeois." Also on the program, however, is a "proletarian" orchestral piece entitled *The Sun Shines upon the Smokestacks*. The music is pleasantly imagistic, a kind of Sinified Debussy.

Most significant, perhaps, the cult of personality that riveted attention on Mao has virtually disappeared. In briefings and introductions, references to the Chairman are few and far between. A few years ago, if a farmer were asked about the most important factor in increasing rice production, he would answer automatically: "Mastering the thought of Chairman Mao." Now he is more likely to respond: "More chemical fertilizer."

The need for chemical fertilizer is far more obvious than the need, if there ever was one, for ritualistic slogans. For the sake of foreign groups that regularly tramp through its fields, the Chung Luo Tan commune just north of Canton has a printed leaflet proclaiming dramatic "year by year" increases in grain output. But the leaflet also includes statistics showing that there was virtually no increase in production between 1965 and 1976. Since the population of China increased by 25% in that period, the commune has suffered a serious net decline in per capita output. Admits one old farmer, carefully tending the private plot where he grows fodder for his own pigs and chickens: "We were better off before the Cultural Revolution than we are now."

Food is neither abundant nor of good quality. Fruit stands in Canton, Kweilin and Nanning display little more than tangerines, apples and pomelos. The tanger-

The plots are carefully tended, a sign of how important they are. Their existence also points up a serious problem for China's modernizers: if the city is poor, the countryside is even poorer.

This was especially apparent in Kweilin. On a typical chill winter evening, throngs of urbanites crowded the streets, strolling or milling about in a department store, the center of activity after working hours in most cities. A boisterous crowd pushed and shoved at the counter of a shop to buy, for about \$2 a pair, a kind of canvas shoe that had just come on the market. On a darkened sidewalk near by, groups of farmers, bundled in ragged blankets to protect themselves against the nighttime cold, sat in front of small piles of peanuts, tangerines and medicinal *luo han* gourds, trying to sell them to passers-by. Later, as the crowds on the streets thinned, the farmers picked up their possessions and, with their blankets draped over their shoulders, began making their



Shoppers lining up to buy fresh bean sprouts at a state-run vending stand. But small free markets remain an area of income-boosting enterprise.

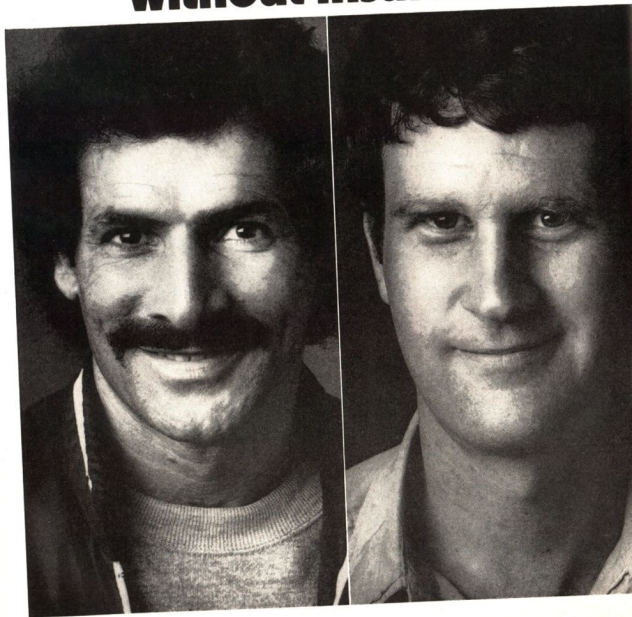
ines are bruised and shriveled, the apples small and worm-eaten, the dry pomelos no match for those found elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Protein-rich bean curd, once the poor man's meat and a standard part of the everyday diet in China, has become a luxury that is rarely found in city markets.

Since the official stores are chronically undersupplied, much shopping is done at small, free markets set up on sidewalks or in alleyways. This remains by far the largest area of profit-seeking enterprise in China. Roads leading in and out of cities are filled with farmers carrying bundles of vegetables that they have grown on their private plots. They sell them to supplement their cash incomes (which amount to \$150 to \$200 a year).

way toward their communes on the city's outskirts.

Meanwhile, at a local "workers' cultural palace," the large, ramshackle movie house was jammed to capacity. The film was a series of colorful vignettes, accompanied by syrupy music, celebrating the achievements of Chinese socialism. There were scientific laboratories, gleaming hospitals and glowing blast furnaces. But it was the images of food production—a plentiful catch of fish or trees laden with rich, ripe fruit—that brought loud oohs and aahs from the audience. The gap between the portrait of socialist plenty on the screen and the spare, undeniable reality of farmers bundled in ragged blankets on the street outside is all too conspicuous.

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*Source: The Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor

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The "Other China" Stands Fast

Its mood as the shock wears off: ever greater resolve

"Do not be disquieted during times of adversity. Remain calm with dignity." So urged President Chiang Ching-kuo, dusting off a slogan that his father, Chiang Kai-shek, had used during the 1971 crisis when the Republic of China was expelled from the U.N. As the "other China" recovered from the shock of learning that Washington and Peking would normalize diplomatic relations this week, the island's mood was one of ever greater resolve and patriotism. Two days after Carter's announcement, Premier Y.S. Sun announced that the government was increasing the defense budget and stepping up a development program for major weapons. Since the U.S. was terminating its 1954 mutual defense treaty with Taiwan, said Sun, the republic had no choice but to "establish a more self-sustaining defense industry." It was a popular move. In front of the main Buddhist temple in Taipei, nuns began collecting contributions for national defense from passers-by. In just a week the public donated a total of \$17 million to the government for the purchase of weapons.

Taiwan's defense forces stayed on alert, and police continued a round-the-clock guard of the U.S. embassy and of Taipei residential areas favored by foreigners. There were a few anti-U.S. demonstrations by students, but Americans otherwise were treated courteously and without ill-will. Obviously out of fear that normalization would become a burning campaign issue, the government postponed elections for vacant seats in both the National Assembly and Legislative Council scheduled for December 23. Up to that point, the campaign had been the most open in the island's history, with opposition candidates freely criticizing the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) government. With unwitting prescience, one independent office seeker, mainland-born Chen Ku-yung, had planned to cap his campaign by erecting a billboard in Taipei that contained the simple inscription: WHERE ARE WE GOING?

It is not a new question for Chiang Ching-kuo and his fellow veterans of China's Nationalist Party. More than half a century has passed since Chiang Kai-shek made the fateful decision to engage in bloody civil war with China's Communists. For nearly 22 years that bitter struggle raged back and forth across China. Many Americans perceived Chiang Kai-shek as an architect of potential stability in Asia. The disillusionment was thus especially bitter on both sides of the Pacific when Communist forces crushed China's demoralized armies in 1949 and Mao proclaimed the People's Republic.



Chiang Ching-kuo (with father's portrait)

After 29 years, an old question posed anew.

Taiwan's present dilemma really began in 1949, when Chiang Kai-shek and his central government in exile moved to Taipei. After Peking entered the Korean War in 1950, President Truman helped secure the island from Communist conquest by interposing the U.S. Seventh Fleet between Taiwan and the mainland—an act incidentally that also prevented the Nationalists from trying to reconquer China. American support, both military and economic, eventually encouraged the Kuomintang to enact many of the reforms it had failed to carry out while in power on the mainland. Today, Taiwan is one of the best-run and least corrupt countries in Asia; per capita income has risen from \$280 in 1968 to \$1,400 now, more than three times that of China. An effective land-reform program, which eliminated rural destitution and absentee landlords in the 1950s, is the envy of Asia.

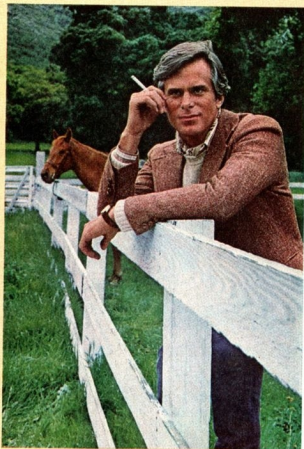
The most immediate question facing Taiwan last week was the future of its booming economy: the island's annual trade of \$24 billion ranks it among the world's top 20. Many large American corporations, including Ford, RCA and Goodyear, announced that they would

continue their investments, but not everyone was reassured. Said Robert Parker, president of Taiwan's American Chamber of Commerce: "There's no use pretending that normalization on the terms we got won't hurt. It will." Still, Taipei was partially reassured by Washington's statement that more than 50 accords between Taiwan and the U.S., dealing mostly with economic and cultural matters, would remain in effect.

The Taiwanese were openly mistrustful of conciliatory words from Peking, which for years had blasted Taipei's rulers as "the Chiang clique" and "U.S. imperialist lackeys." Earlier this month, eight top Taiwanese athletes were invited by Peking to join China's national team trials for last week's Asian Games in Bangkok. All refused. After Carter's normalization announcement, Radio Peking trotted out two elderly former Nationalists, Liu Fei and Li Chung-lung, who said they would like to visit the island to "exchange views" with "old friends, including Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo," if the "Taiwan authorities" agreed. That offer was also flatly rejected by the Nationalists. Said Chiang Ching-kuo: "[There is] no way for me to allow these two traitors to come to Taiwan." Other Taiwan officials remained highly skeptical of Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping's assurance to Columnist Robert Novak that China did not intend to lower Taiwan's standard of living after reunification. Said one: "We don't believe a word Teng says. He's a shrewd man, but what he is saying is just baloney." Added another: "Don't believe what Peking says. We know its ultimate aim is to destroy us."

Washington remained optimistic that Peking would not seek to capture Taiwan by force, although it had nothing but vague hints from the Communists to that effect. In fact, Taiwan's well-trained military, 474,000 strong and equipped with 316 combat aircraft, including F-5A/E interceptors, air-to-air and ground-to-ground missiles, is an effective deterrent for the present. Meanwhile, State Department experts were debating some of the options that Taiwan might now take. At an emergency meeting of the Nationalists' Central Committee last week one member even raised the prospect of playing a "Russia card" in answer to America's "China card"—meaning Taiwan would seek ties with the U.S.S.R. This suggestion was flatly rejected. Washington, actually, was worried about a grimmer prospect. Taiwan has a host of talented scientists and an accelerated nuclear reactor program; predictions were that it could produce an atomic bomb in two years.

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Squall over Carter's Move

Conservatives campaign against the U.S. deal with Peking

"A gutsy, courageous decision," declared Democratic Senator Frank Church of Idaho, who will become chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee when the 96th Congress convenes in mid-January. "An act of treachery," countered Republican Congressman John Ashbrook of Ohio, a leader of the conservative bloc on Capitol Hill.

So raged the debate in the U.S. last week over Jimmy Carter's decision to break diplomatic relations with the Nationalist Chinese government in Taipei, cancel Washington's defense treaty with Taiwan and open full diplomatic relations with the Communist Chinese government in Peking.

Conservatives accuse Carter of betraying a longtime ally. New Hampshire Governor Meldrim Thomson Jr., chairman of the National Conservative Caucus, ordered flags of Taiwan lowered to half-staff over his statehouse. The American Conservative Union asked its members to protest to their Congressmen. Ronald Reagan, running hard for the 1980 G.O.P. presidential nomination, cabled Nationalist Chinese President Chiang Ching-kuo "to express my deep regret at the action that has been taken."

Many opponents of the China deal rallied round Republican Senator Barry Goldwater, who in his text for a televised reply to Carter said: "The President called into question this nation's treaty credibility throughout the world." Goldwater filed suit in federal court in Washington to test Carter's authority to end the 1954 defense treaty with Taiwan. Contending that no treaty can be terminated without a two-thirds vote by the Senate, Goldwater called Carter's decision "an outright abuse of presidential power."

Not really. On several occasions in the past, Presidents have ended treaties without asking for the Senate's support; one of the last times was in 1939, when Franklin Roosevelt canceled a commercial agreement with Japan. Several constitutional experts sided with the Administration. "The search for precedents is not critical," said Yale Law School Professor Bruce Ackerman. "What we have is a gradual evolution of presidential-congressional interaction on the conduct of foreign affairs. It seems obvious to me that once the President has acted unilaterally, there is little Congress can do."

Even if the conservatives lose in court, they intend to harry Carter's new China policy in Congress. Vowed Ohio's Ashbrook: "We will throw up every conceivable roadblock." They will have several

opportunities. Carter will have to seek the Senate's confirmation of his nominee as Ambassador to China. He will also have to ask Congress for funds to open an embassy in Peking and for the approval of changes in the treaty language that are needed to keep in force nonmilitary agreements with Taiwan.

Some critics tried to link Taiwan with Israel, claiming that the China decision showed the Carter Administration to be an unreliable ally. But the situations in the Middle East and the Orient differ enormously, and so do U.S. interests in both parts of the world. Moreover, the U.S. stuck with Taiwan—supplying mon-

Arkansas Senator Dale Bumpers, fresh from spending two weeks in mainland China: "It made me wonder how much the President left on the negotiating table." Probably nothing, in the view of several Asian scholars. "We could have held out," said Harvard's Benjamin Schwartz, "but I doubt that China would ever openly say that it was going to assure the security of Taiwan."

The Administration launched an all-fronts lobbying effort. Vice President Walter Mondale, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Pentagon Chief Harold Brown and other Carter advisers phoned every Senator and key Congressman to ask for

support and to answer questions. The White House was also considering asking big businessmen and big farmers for endorsements. Said a White House aide: "It is going to be hard for Senators to raise hell if the power structures in their home states say that China is a good deal." The opposition is hurt further by the fact that Carter is backed on China by some prominent Republicans, including ex-Presidents Ford and Nixon and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Initial public response was mixed, even confused. According to a poll by the New York Times and CBS, Americans opposed Carter's decision to transfer U.S. recognition from Taipei to Peking by 45% to 32%; but by 58% to 26%, the public opposed further arms sales to Taiwan.

The Administration's hopes of overcoming opposition by the conservatives were helped considerably by the response abroad. Most governments saw Carter's decision the way French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing did, as a long overdue "recognition of realities."

Publicly, at least, Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev took the same position. He sent Carter a message acknowledging, in the U.S. President's words, "that the proper relationship between sovereign nations is to have full diplomatic relations." The Soviets objected to the joint Chinese-American communiqué opposing "hegemony," which is a Chinese code word for Soviet expansionism. Otherwise, Moscow took a wait-and-see attitude toward the U.S. Noting that Carter had assured the U.S.S.R. that the China deal would not harm Soviet interests, *Pravda* said, "This is a very important statement, and time will show if these words accord with practical deeds and political actions." Thus the Kremlin seemed to have no intention of letting U.S.-China policy get in the way of a SALT agreement or a summit conference between Carter and Brezhnev. ■



Goldwater at Paradise Valley, Ariz., press conference
How much was left on the bargaining table?

ey and arms and maintaining the fiction that Taiwan was China—for nearly 30 years, arguably longer than any other world power in such a situation would have been willing to do.

A more legitimate question, and one that will be debated for some time, is whether the U.S. could have held out for a clearer promise about Taiwan's security. As it was, the Chinese agreed only to the tactic of not objecting to, and thereby tacitly accepting, Carter's assurances that Taiwan was in no danger of invasion from the mainland and that the U.S. would continue to supply Taipei with defensive weapons.

Nonetheless, the speed with which the Administration accepted the agreement contributed to doubts, even among supporters of normalization, about whether the U.S. got the best of the bargain. Said

Four Who Also Shaped Events

A Rough Apprenticeship, a New Beginning

He had passed through a difficult apprenticeship, plummeting in public esteem at one point to a 30% favorable rating. He was being regarded at home and abroad as a nice enough fellow but one without much flair for leadership or talent for using the formidable powers of his office. Then Jimmy Carter began to turn things around at Camp David, not during the deservedly acclaimed summit in September with Israel's Menachem Begin and Egypt's Anwar Sadat, but at a far less visible conference in April with Cabinet members and top White House advisers.

At that session Carter gave Chief Aide Hamilton Jordan authority to coordinate policies and pull policymakers into line. The President began concentrating on only the most important issues, dropping the original everything-at-once strategy that had spread him far too thin and exasperated Congress. As U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young put it, "In the early days Carter felt that he could force Congress and history and everything else to work according to his flow chart. He has learned that it doesn't happen that way."

By fall, Carter had run up an impressive string of victories on foreign and defense policies: ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty, sale of high-performance jet fighters to Egypt and Saudi Arabia, an end to the Turkish arms embargo, abandonment of the Navy's plans for a fifth nuclear-powered aircraft carrier.

At year's end Carter came close to achieving a triple crown

in foreign policy: he established normal relations with mainland China and seemed to have a breakthrough on strategic arms limitations with the Soviet Union. But he failed to get Egypt and Israel to sign a peace pact, even though he had, almost singlehandedly, brought them closer to peace at the Camp David summit than they had been in 30 years. His achievements were also somewhat diminished by the U.S. inability to help bring calm to Iran.

Some political scientists were troubled that most of Carter's successes were in foreign affairs. Observed Seymour Martin Lipset of the Hoover Institution in Stanford, Calif.: "Carter is in the same boat as Nixon, looking good abroad while facing a sea of domestic troubles." But the President did salvage some gains: a truncated energy bill despite the Administration's confused and uncertain performance of a year earlier, Civil Service reform and a veto of wasteful water projects.

Carter is still an enigmatic leader of uncertain political philosophy. He is not inspirational by nature, and is not likely ever to be a charismatic commander. This failing could make him vulnerable to a challenge. Much will depend on how he handles two issues that loom in 1979: ratification of SALT II by a Senate suspicious of Soviet motives and of Carter's seeming willingness to accommodate Moscow; and reducing inflation, on which he is steering a conservative course that will be attacked by the liberals. Both battles promise to be bruising, and their outcome will largely determine whether the new beginning that Jimmy Carter made in 1978 will carry him to a second term in 1980.



JIMMY CARTER

Rugged Activist for a Troubled Church

He was 58, "too young" to be electable. More important, he was not an Italian, and not since the time of Martin Luther had a "foreigner" been placed in the Chair of Peter. Yet in an astounding election that capped an astounding year for the Vatican, Karol Cardinal Wojtyla became spiritual leader of the world's 700 million Roman Catholics. His Soviet-bloc homeland of Poland, fervently Catholic for a millennium, was engulfed in a tide of exultation and pride.

John Paul II called his election "an act of courage" by the Cardinals, but his credentials were superb. As pastor, professor of ethics, bishop and Archbishop of Cracow, he displayed spiritual depth, pastoral skill, rare intellectual stature, facility in seven languages and political shrewdness. There was more to recommend him: an outdoorsman's stamina; a felicitous pen that has produced poems and plays as well as philosophical treatises; courage, displayed in his work to save Jewish families from the Holocaust. Wojtyla has experienced life in ways unknown to most of the modern Popes. Because he did not choose his vocation until he was a young adult, he dated girls, acted and directed in the theater and worked as a factory hand.

He will need all his vigor, for the papacy in the last years of Pope Paul VI's 15-year reign was uninspiring and remote. When Paul died on Aug. 6, the Cardinals chose as his successor a man known for his pastoral qualities and popular touch: Albino Cardinal Luciani, Patriarch of Venice, who took the name John

Paul I to signal continuity, not only with his immediate predecessor, but also with the beloved John XXIII.

Luciani's death after a 33-day reign brought Wojtyla (pronounced voy-tih-wuh) to the papacy, and in his first utterances he signaled a policy of consolidation. Since the reform-minded

Second Vatican Council (1962-65), the church has suffered crisis after crisis. John Paul II's goal appears to be a church that can once again offer a solid faith in a sea of spiritual confusion and uncertainty. Thus he has implicitly ruled out women priests or any change in the celibacy rule, and warned against priests developing "an exaggerated interest in temporal problems." Nor is he expected to tinker with Paul's widely unpopular ruling against all artificial methods of birth control.

Despite these conservative tacks, there is nothing remote, academic or gloomy about John Paul II. His style is a rugged activism, lifting children high over his head, helicoptering to Assisi, pressing the flesh in working-class districts, donning priest's clothing so he can slip away to visit a friend, getting his clerical clothing torn in a mob of adoring nuns, clocking two hours of exercise a day. He hints that he will travel extensively, starting with visits to the Latin American bishops' conference in Mexico in late January, and to his native Poland in May if the regime permits it. The policies of this pontificate are still taking shape, but the man at its center is already making a mark. Said one worldly wise Vatican prelate: "He is a tremendous, dominant figure who fills up the whole screen."



JOHN PAUL II

A Proposition Taxpayers Couldn't Refuse

Steel-rimmed glasses keep sliding down his nose. His sagging jowls perpetually threaten to sweep over the knot of his tie. His voice is booming, raspy, grating. By most standards of political image making, Howard Jarvis, 76, a retired home-appliance manufacturer, is an unlikely prophet. Yet in 1978, after 16 years of trying, he caught the crest of a national wave of discontent and succeeded spectacularly in selling his tax-slashing ideas. Working 18 hours a day, Jarvis fervently addressed every audience he could find—crowds in high school auditoriums, civic luncheons, Jaycee meetings—and gathered 1.5 million petition signatures for his Proposition 13, which required chopping California's property taxes by 57%, or about \$7 billion. On Election Day, voters by 2 to 1 approved Proposition 13, making it one of the most important political and sociological events of the year, and transforming Jarvis into a national symbol of middle-class Americans' mounting anger with expensive government programs that yield too few benefits, big budget deficits and intrusive government regulations.

Long considered a nuisance, a nut, or both, Jarvis was suddenly a celebrity. Traveling 150,000 miles, he carried a beguiling message to taxpayers: "The only way to cut the cost of government is not to give them money in the first place." U.S. politicians, from the local level right up to Congress, reacted by making taxes the major issue of the 1978 elections. Yesterday's political big spenders became today's penny pinchers, embracing schemes to cut budgets across the board by 10% or 20% or 30%. A bewildering variety of referendums, the offspring of Proposition 13, sprouted on the ballots of 16 states; 80% of the measures passed. Observed James Savarese, director of public policy analysis for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, a vitally affected group: "There's a clear message. Voters want value for the dollar."



HOWARD JARVIS

Though the message from U.S. voters was clear, governments were slow and grudging in responding. Jimmy Carter and Congress cut federal taxes by \$18.7 billion; yet Americans' taxes will actually go up in 1979 as a result of inflation and the immense new bite from their paychecks for Social Security. In most states, the cuts in taxes or spending that voters approved in November will not take effect until 1979. Even in pace-setting California, many bureaucrats reacted vengefully to Proposition 13 by threatening drastic cuts in the most essential services and blaming a lack of money for any and every governmental foul-up. When brushfires swept through Malibu Canyon in the fall, officials hinted that they could have fought

the blazes better if they had not had to lay off fire fighters because of budget cuts. Many local governments started charging fees for some public services that used to be financed from tax revenues. A few res-

idents of high-income Palm Springs were so angry about the bills they began receiving for trash collection that they secretly dumped their garbage in the desert. Nonetheless, California managed to soften the blow by passing on to local governments \$5 billion from its huge \$6.6 billion budget surplus. While nearly 26,400 local government employees in California were initially laid off because of Proposition 13, almost 10,000 were back on the job by year's end.

The antitax movement's initial impact may have been modest, but it illuminates very well a new and testier relationship between the citizen and his government. Says Jarvis: "Bureaucrats are going to use every method known to man to keep from cutting back. But this movement is going to restructure the tax system of the Federal Government, of the states and of a lot of foreign countries." At the very least, American politicians will long be feeling the reverberations of what Proposition 13 stands for. Few will want to be associated with that old New Deal maxim coined 40 years ago by Harry Hopkins: "We will spend and spend, and tax and tax, and elect and elect."

In a Far Jungle, a "White Night" of Death

There was little in his Indiana background, except perhaps his bizarre habit of conducting ritualistic funerals for neighborhood pets, that prefigured Jim Jones' horrifying moment on history's stage. In retrospect, those who knew him after he left his home town of Lynn (pop. 1,360; principal industry: casket making) to start a church in Indianapolis recall a certain cynicism and self-absorption, an inclination to use religion as a means of acquiring personal power over others. "Too many people are looking at this instead of looking at me!" he once yelled, slamming his Bible to the floor. But even after he moved his flock to California and began demanding fanatic devotion from his followers, politicians courted him and social agencies sent children to be wards of his Peoples Temple.

His transformation into a megalomaniacal Emperor Jones was gradual but inexorable. He began fancying himself the new Jesus, then the reincarnation of Lenin, and finally God himself. When he sensed that the world outside his self-made universe was growing hostile, he and more than 1,000 of his followers fled from San Francisco to an isolated Guyanese jungle. But the world threatened to close in on him even in that remote spot. There was a court order demanding custody of a child he claimed, an inquiring Congressman, some newsmen, photographers. He plunged finally from self-delusion into murderous madness.

On one mind-numbing Saturday in November, Congressman Leo Ryan, a woman hoping to leave Jonestown with him, and three

journalists were slain. Jones, who demanded celibacy of others, had sex with at least four women and two boys on his manic last day, and then ordered a "white night" of suicide. Some temple members lined up like zombies to drink cyanide-laced Kool-Aid, and feed it to their screaming children. Many more had poison forcibly squirted down their throats or injected into their arms. Gun-toting guards barred escape. Before most of the world had even heard of him, James Warren Jones, 47, lay dead amid the bodies of 912 people who had believed in him.

Jonestown: the name of the commune is destined, like Watergate and Viet Nam, to pass into our vocabulary as a synecdoche, a symbol for something larger. The victims cannot be dismissed as mere crazies: many were poor, elderly blacks, but a number were well-educated younger people from seemingly comfortable backgrounds. What united them was partly a fear of freedom, partly a defect in will that led them to surrender blindly to any powerful leader, any strong faith—things they somehow were not able to find in U.S. society and so rejected it. They did so even though the leader was a charlatan, and the faith insane.

Jim Jones used the cloak of the First Amendment to deprive his followers of the very things that it was designed to guarantee: their freedom to worship and speak as individuals. That so many would shut off their minds and abdicate their roles as questioning, feeling, thinking beings was a stark reminder that, after centuries of what rationalists would like to think of as progress, in 1978 the line dividing civilization from savagery was still tragically fragile.



JIM JONES

Time Essay

The State of the Language, 1978

In the right hands, English is a precision instrument. And, like all such devices, it is alternately blunted and sharpened by its users. In 1978, many nicks and abrasions came from Washington. Ernest Boyer, U.S. Commissioner of Education, admitted that he had been faking it: he actually pretended to understand memos. The confession was prompted by logorrhea in his own department: "This office's activities during the year were primarily continuing their primary functions of education of the people to acquaint them of their needs, problems and alternate problem solutions, in order that they can make wise decisions in planning and implementing a total program that will best meet the needs of the people, now and in the future." Declares Boyer, "In a million years you would never say that on the phone. The other person would say, 'He's gone mad.'"

Lunacy, a long-term resident of the capital, also attended the Civil Aeronautics Board. When Alfred Kahn was chairman (before he moved on to enforce Carter's anti-inflation policies), he ordered his staff to write in straightforward quasi-conventional prose. But by his own reckoning he achieved only "41.3% success." As evidence Kahn offered a departmental rejection slip: "The involved document, though clothed in diplomatic costume, is no more than a transmittal note and is, thus, of no decisional significance." "There was nothing I could do but cry," Kahn lamented. "I felt so lonely and futile."

There was plenty of rheum at the top. During the coal strike, White House Press Secretary Jody Powell discussed hardships in the "ECAR region." When reporters asked about the acronym, Powell blurted, "That is a little bureaucratic jargon I picked up. I don't know what it means." He and others learned that the acronym stands for East Central Reliability Council, a group of utility companies. They were to learn more from Representative Gerry Studds of Massachusetts, who wrote his constituents: "Air Force to do EIS on PAVE PAWS." Translation: there was to be an environmental impact statement about a type of radar: Precision Acquisition of Vehicle Entry—Phased Array Warning System.

Still, in the solecism sweepstakes, Washington took second place to Northern California. *Verbatim*, the lively quarterly that eavesdrops on American conversation, quoted the San Francisco police department's program for "carrying out crime and punishment" and Bay Area talk shows that spoke of "wheel chairs and other types of illnesses," of suicide that was "self-inflicted" and of a remark that "really irated" the speaker.

Such transformations of nouns into verbs became epidemic in 1978. "How does this impact on the Middle East?" reporters wanted to know. "Has branded merchandise Peter Principled?" asked a chain-store magazine. Governments prioritized, runners marathoned, technocrats modulated their problems, diplomats liased with their colleagues, vans slept six. It was that sort of verbiage that once prompted James Thurber to inquire about a restaurant meal. "How many does it eat?"

In 1978, devaluation was linguistic as well as monetary. Airline passengers continued to be ordered to extinguish smoking materials, TV meteorologists no longer recognized rain: it was shower activity. The reliable Howard Cosell lamented a victory that "was not to be eventuated," Bernard Kalb spoke of "self-autonomy" for the Palestinians, Betty Furness continued to say "ir-regardless," and Tom Brokaw found many ideas "a little unique." "The media" continued to be incorrectly used, and

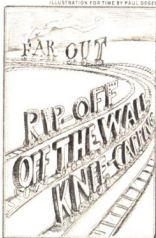
"hopefully" seems to have set down roots. Hopefully, the media has this on its conscience. (If you cannot find three errors in that sentence see your local grammarian.)

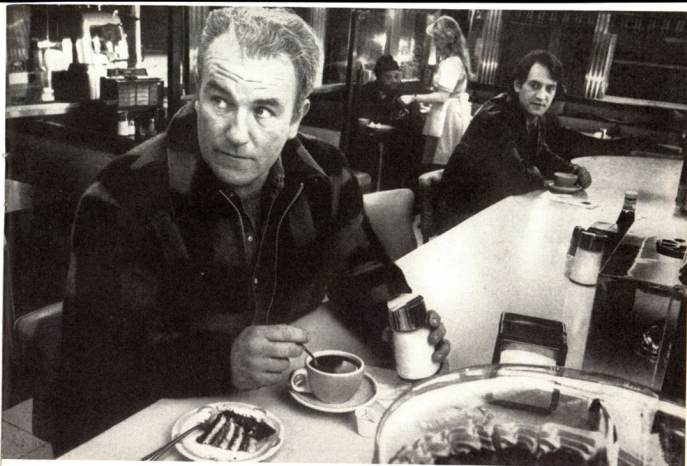
Given such examples, it would be easy to agree with Anthony Burgess's despairing essay-novel *1985*, which sees the future managed by a department of linguistic CHAOS—Consortium for the Hastening of the Annihilation of Organized Society.

In fact, there are plenty of reasons to see HOPE: Harbingers of Productive English. At Glassboro State College in New Jersey, for example, Professor Richard Mitchell publishes *The Underground Grammarian*, a journal criticizing the jargon of colleagues, particularly those who use "advisement in public [and] input and interface as well as thrust... these words might be appropriate in private between consenting adults." According to TV pundit Edwin Newman (*A Civil Tongue*), 1978 saw a growing group of people deriding "gassy, boneless language in government, academia and business." Wordsmith Rudolph Flesch (*Why Johnny Can't Read*), consultant to the Federal Trade Commission, found some new regulations comparable in difficulty to the *Harvard Business Review*. His current demands sacrifice style for simplicity: what Flesch wants is an "equivalent to the *Reader's Digest*."

Some of the year's new words actually communicate: regentification, for example, sounds like a jawbreaker, but there is no shorter term for the return of upper and middle classes to urban life. Some words convey far more than whole pages: "kneecapping" for terrorist sniping at a victim's legs. Other phrases have fought their way into the American mainstream: the 1979 *World Book Encyclopedia* will include seven pages of new English phrases, including "double nickel," the colorful CB term for a 55 m.p.h. speed limit; "rip off" for theft and thieving and "off the wall" for unconventional. Still other phrases are here only on a short-term visa: "nano-nano," an alien greeting from *Mork and Mindy*, will last, happily, only as long as the Nielsens permit. Many neologisms are already tiptoeing to the exit. Among them, according to U.S.C. Linguistics Professor Edward Finegan: "uptight," "together," "far out," and the preposition "into," as in "I am into better English." With good reason. English has become the world's second language, the tongue that Esperanto aspired to be. The speech of Americans is the currency of the Middle East, aviation, international business. It was so pervasive in 1978 that the editor of the youth daily *Komsomolskaya Pravda* complained of two American invasions: comrades wore Western-style "dzhin-sy" and drank "viski." Today English is spoken by 400 million people, more than any tongue except Mandarin Chinese. Given the new realities, those statistics could change without notice. The People's Republic may soon be complaining of U.S. neologisms, coinages, and other abuses. Like Americans, the Chinese can take comfort in H.L. Mencken's editorial, as valid today as it was 40 years ago: "As English spreads over the world, will it be able to maintain its present form? Probably not. But why should it? ... Stability in language is synonymous with *rigor mortis*." In 1978, American prose continued to alter, irritate and entertain. To the purist, those characteristics may be evidence of deterioration. Certainly our language has been besieged by vulgarities. But it has also been enriched by vigorous phrases and terms. To those who speak and write with care, those words are the unmistakable beats of life.

—Stefan Kanfer





The Hartford found a cure for hijacking in a cup of coffee.



The trucker was on schedule when he made his usual roadside stop for coffee. That's what the hijackers were counting on. The gang struck the same fleet's trucks again, at a cost of hundreds of thousands of dollars in lost cargo.

Once alerted to the crimes, The Hartford's loss prevention service suggested ways to stop the hijackings. We recommended drivers alternate rest stops so hijackers wouldn't know where to strike. And because it's harder to hijack a truck outside city limits, we suggested drivers make their first rest stop at least 100 miles from the city terminal.

Besides stopping the hijackings, our loss prevention counseling also helped lower the fleet's insurance rate. Proving that when losses go down, rates don't have to go up.

Whatever business you're in, you can always benefit from a loss prevention program. It can help you find better ways to prevent thefts, injuries, accidents, and lawsuits. And that can

help you avoid costly business interruptions due to fires or accidents.

The Hartford has over 60 years of experience in designing loss prevention programs for every type of business. Our over 500 loss prevention experts located coast to coast can advise you on chemistry, engineering, product liability, transportation, health care, construction, fire safety, industrial hygiene, and other fields.

It adds up to the kind of preventive help businesses of all sizes need but can't always afford on their own. Which is why more of them are asking for The Hartford's help—and getting results.

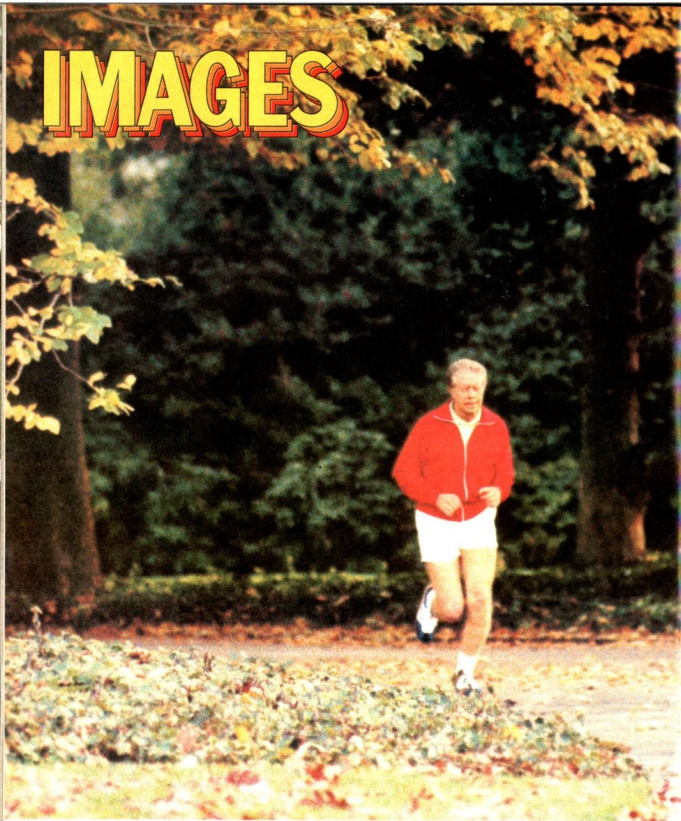


To see how loss prevention can make a difference in your business, contact your local independent agent who represents The Hartford.

Get in touch today. After all, wouldn't you rather get help than get hurt?

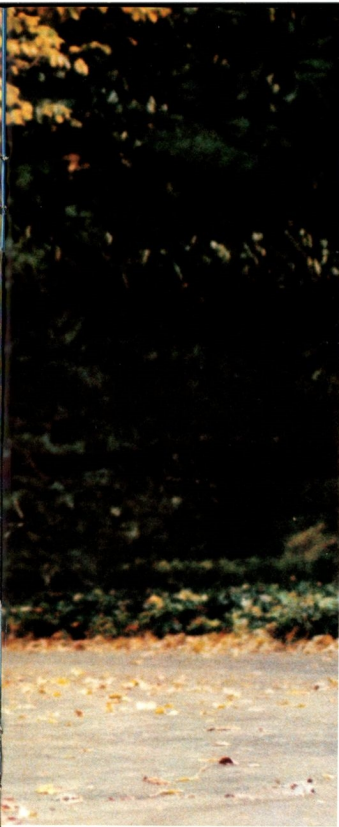
The best protection is prevention.

IMAGES



Nothing could symbolize 1978 better than a running Jimmy Carter. The President first donned his Adidas in September after the arduous sessions at Camp David that led to the high drama of Anwar Sadat embracing

Menachem Begin. But he had been on the move for months, and moving the world too. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and his Soviet counterpart, Andrei Gromyko, brought a SALT pact to the brink of success. At Carter's urging, the



Senate passed the Panama Canal treaties, and supporters of Panama's Strongman Omar Torrijos hailed them. One relaxed leader: Fidel Castro, here at ease in Ethiopia, who went serenely on supporting Africa's revolutionaries.



IMAGES





The most haunting image of 1978 was one of absolute stillness: row upon row of men, women and children, more than 900 of them, lying face down where they had died, many after swallowing a purple fruit drink laced with cyanide and served up from a metal vat. What caused the slaughter in the jungles of Guyana was a blend of religious fervor, paranoia, and misplaced faith in Jim Jones, the spellbinding leader who ordered the destruction of his colony. Jones died with a bullet in his head; his wife Marceline (shown above with Jones and their family) also apparently committed suicide. Terror and violence came in other forms during 1978. Red Brigades gunmen kidnapped Aldo Moro, 61, Italy's most eminent statesman, and then murdered him after two months. The statue of the Shah was toppled during uprisings in Iran, and thousands of "boat people" from Viet Nam risked death on the seas and an uncertain future to escape Communist rule.

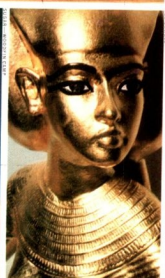
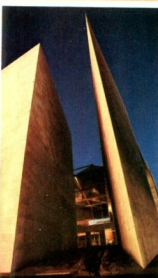
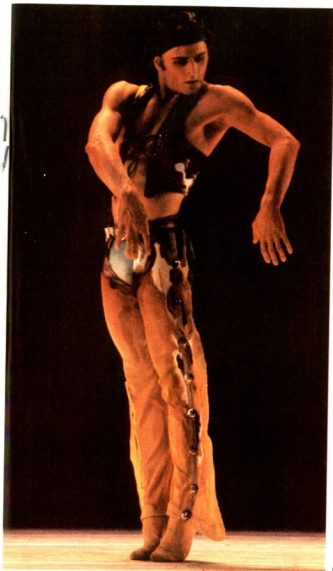


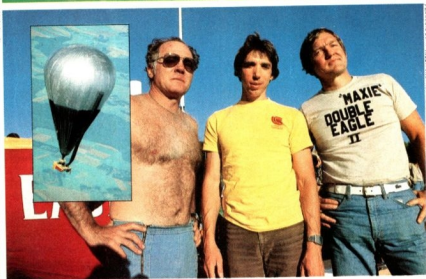
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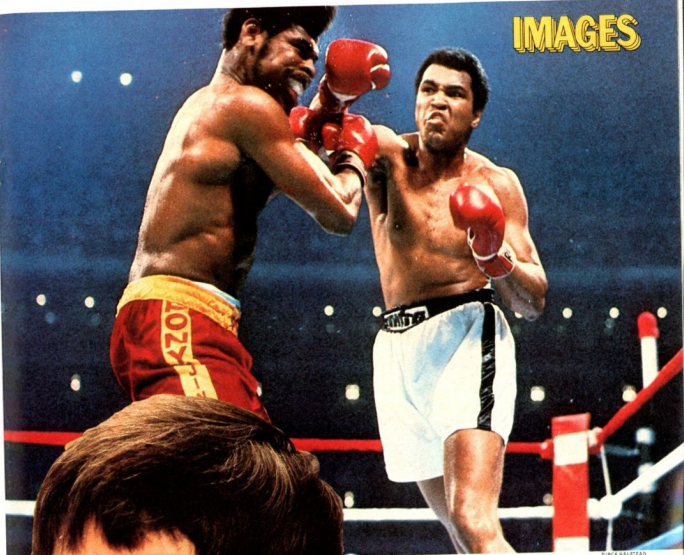
Casual yet poised, Bonnie Prince Charles was the beau ideal of 1978. Princess Caroline, 21, wed Parisian Banker-Playboy Phillippe Junot. Mikhail Baryshnikov moved from the American Ballet Theater to the New York City Ballet. California's ham-fisted Howard Jarvis propositioned the whole U.S. Richard Nixon was cheered in Kentucky; King Tut was boffo everywhere; and I.M. Pei's addition to the National Gallery of Art in Washington was a smash attraction too. Jordan's King Hussein married America's Lisa Halaby, and England's Louise Brown was a howling success as the first test-tube baby.





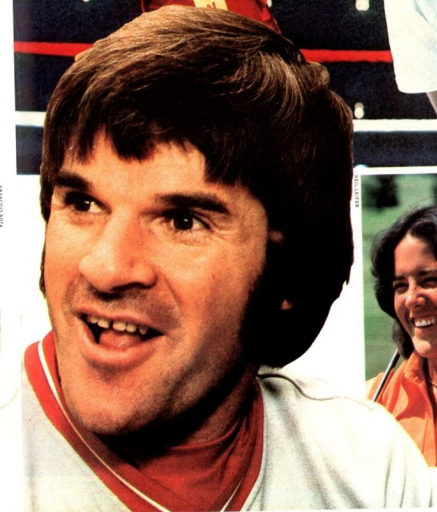


IMAGES



DICK HALLSTAD

ELLEN VOGEL



REUTERS



STUDIOS J. JORDAN

Pete Rose had plenty to grin about—his hitting feats, plus a record \$3.5 million contract with Philadelphia. Nancy Lopez, pro golf's newest sensation, also had a winning smile, but Muhammad Ali curled his lip as he regained his title at 36 from Leon Spinks. Upper left: Bjorn Borg raised the victor's cup at Wimbledon; Argentina won soccer's World Cup; Steve Cauthen rode Affirmed to the Triple Crown; and three Yanks sailed off in a balloon to France. The Soviets' flower-bedecked Anatoli Karpov retained his world chess title, but just; and millions of Americans took up a less cerebral pursuit, running after each other.

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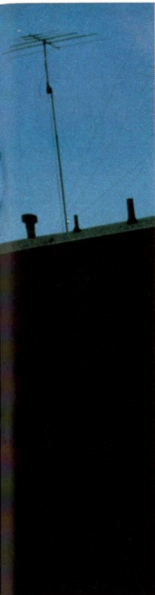


"Ma, I love ya." Those were the last words recorded in the cockpit of a Pacific Southwest Airlines jet after it collided with a light plane over San Diego. The crash, worst in U.S. aviation history, killed 144, and proved again the need to tighten flying regulations. Forest fires reddened the Los Angeles skyline and destroyed millions of dollars in property. More than 100 died when a truck carrying propylene gas careened into a Spanish trailer camp. In Brittany, workers struggled to clean up the biggest oil spill of all time—220,000 gal. poured into the sea when gale winds drove the disabled supertanker *Amoco Cadiz* on the rocks.

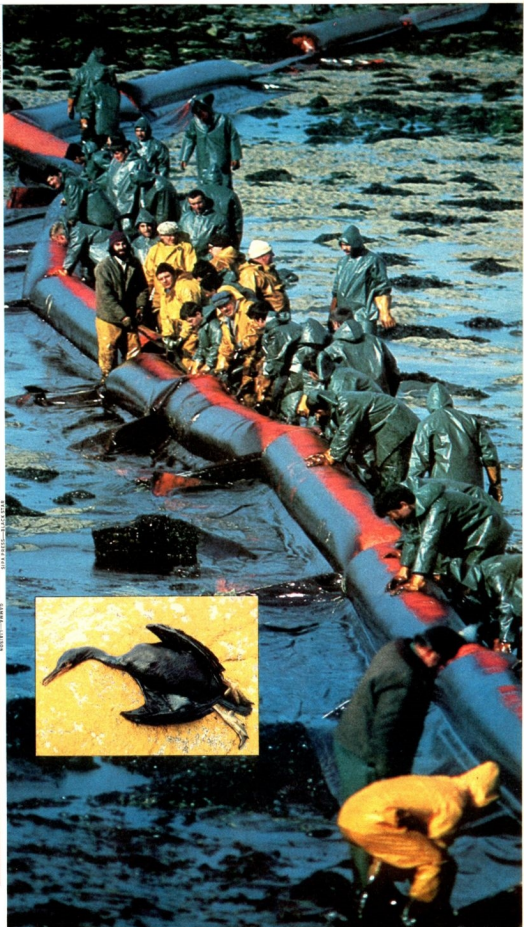
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TIME, JANUARY 1, 1979



JOHN STONE



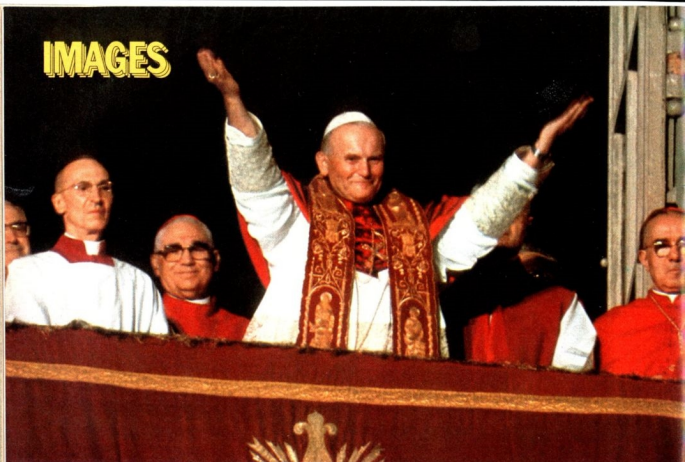
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SIPA PRESS—BLACK STAR



RAY—THOMSON

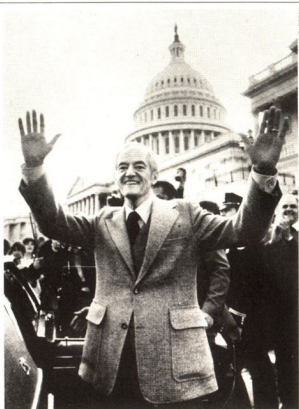
For Christians, and all men of good will, 1978 was twice a year for mourning and rejoicing. Pope Paul VI died, and soon the bells of Rome rang out to hail John Paul I. Then, 33 days later, the new Pontiff died, and the shoes of the fisherman were empty once more. His surprising successor, Poland's Karol Wojtyla, 58, became the first non-Italian Pope since 1522. He took the name John Paul II, and his vigor was obvious as he waved from St. Peter's.

RAY—THOMSON





MARGARET MEAD, 76



SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, 67



NORMAN ROCKWELL, 84



GOLDA MEIR, 80



EDGAR BERGEN, 75, WITH CHARLIE MCCARTHY

The deaths in the family of man left the world poorer in many ways. Margaret Mead, a pioneering anthropologist, was famed late in her career for her doughty defense of the restless young generation. Hubert Horatio Humphrey was an American original, a compassionate man, liberal to the core, who as a Senator and Vice President fought for social justice for 30 years. Even his opponents could not help loving the crusader from Minnesota. Norman Rockwell painted Americans as they liked to see themselves—no harm in that, surely—and produced a kind of national family album. Golda Meir came on as the classic Jewish mother, but she was a Zionist revolutionary who could be as unbending as any man. Edgar Bergen put wisecracks in the mouth of Charlie McCarthy that delighted U.S. radio audiences for decades.

SALT: The Home Stretch

Vance and Gromyko work on the last details of an arms pact

The question was one that reporters asked at just about every meeting between Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko: How far apart were the two diplomats in their seemingly endless effort to work out a second-stage SALT treaty? In Geneva last week Gromyko answered by holding his hands about a foot apart.

"Large?" asked a reporter trying to gauge the distance.

"Medium," said Gromyko.

Actually the gap was quite small, but still too wide to be bridged last week. Despite three days of hard bargaining over arms limits, Vance and Gromyko were unable to resolve all of the relatively few issues still blocking SALT II.

At week's end, it was uncertain whether the remaining differences would delay the first summit between Jimmy Carter and Soviet Communist Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev. It was tentatively being planned for Washington in mid-January, just a fortnight before the visit of China's Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The President, in fact, has wanted to see Brezhnev for a year, but the Russians have refused to come until SALT II was ready for signing.

As Vance headed for Geneva last week, there were signs that after six years of talks, SALT II was finally within reach. The Secretary seemed especially relaxed on the plane. During the first day's talks, after reading their formal

statements, Vance and Gromyko engaged in some serious trading, indicating that both had been given substantial leeway to strike a bargain. Later, after telephoning a brief progress report to Carter, a tired Vance acknowledged that the number of outstanding questions had been narrowed. Still, he cautioned, "We have some issues yet to be resolved. Some are difficult."

Most of SALT's major points, of course, had already been negotiated and were contained in a 62-page draft. The main part of the draft is a treaty running to 1985, limiting both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. to 2,250 strategic weapons systems: a mix of long-range bombers, land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles and the submarine-launched ballistic missiles. This would be a much more modest achievement than the sharp reductions that the Carter Administration had sought in March 1977. In fact, because the U.S. now deploys about 2,150 strategic systems, the Pentagon actually would be able to add weapons under SALT II. While the Kremlin would have to trim its strategic arsenal by about 300 to get under the ban, it would be able to do some of this by dismantling aging bombers and rockets.

Of the problems facing Vance and Gromyko last week perhaps the most difficult was one touching on a crucial aspect of arms control: SALT I's guarantee that neither side would interfere with the other's attempts to check, by

electronic means or spy satellites, on whether there has been cheating. In Pacific Ocean tests last July, Moscow used a complex code to hide the data beamed from its warheads to Soviet listening stations. The purpose might have been to prevent the U.S. from fully monitoring the tests. Vance undoubtedly argued last week that SALT implicitly prohibits such coding and insisted that it be banned by the new treaty.

One of the other main disputes involved the number of cruise missiles that could be put aboard a plane for aerial launching. The Soviets were seeking to restrict the number to 20 per plane, the most that can be loaded onto a B-52 bomber. But because the U.S. is considering outfitting jumbo jets to carry as many as 80 cruise missiles, Vance pressed the Soviets for a compromise that would set an average limit of about 30 per plane.

After the morning session on their final day of talks in Geneva, Vance and Gromyko emerged looking grim and discouraged. Then they resumed negotiations for another four hours later in the day. When they came out, their mood had dramatically changed for the better. Relaxed and smiling, they said they had made enough progress not to have to meet again. They acknowledged that some substantive matters as well as certain details still had to be resolved, but these could be handled by the SALT negotiating teams.

Once the Administration finishes negotiating SALT II with Moscow, it must start bargaining with the U.S. Senate, where a two-thirds vote is required for treaty ratification. Experts estimate that odds today are no better than even that SALT II will pass. SALT's critics argue that although the accord would grant both sides an equal number of strategic systems, the U.S. would be prevented from compensating for the overwhelming Soviet advantage in rocket size and power. But the chances of Senate approval will almost certainly improve as the White House begins lobbying for the treaty. To allay some critics' fears, the Administration will stress that it is increasing defense spending to counter the Kremlin's continuing military buildup. The new head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Lieut. General George Seignious II, points out that SALT II "is going to require additional money to modernize the strategic systems we have." ■



Gromyko and Vance about to begin their talks at the Soviet mission in Geneva
After six years of hard bargaining, an agreement is finally within reach.



In Abu Dhabi, Oil Minister Mani Said Utaiba of United Arab Emirates exuberantly celebrates the increases in petroleum prices

Dance of the Oil Dervishes

OPEC's sharp price increase will hurt the U.S. economy

If Jimmy Carter tried to describe one of his worst nightmares, he might report that he had imagined seeing a group of Arab oil ministers waving AK-47 Soviet rifles above their heads and dancing like dervishes on the tennis court of the Hilton Hotel in Abu Dhabi. The reason for their jubilation, in this nightmare, was that they had just engineered a huge increase in the price of crude oil. Unfortunately, this was no *Arabian Nights* fantasy but sobering reality last week. Several Arab ministers really did take part in a "Dance of the Rifles" to celebrate the sixth price boost by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries since 1973, and potentially one of the most devastating.

While the Carter Administration had optimistically expected a modest increase of between 5% and 10%, the 13 OPEC nations agreed on a 14.5% hike to be imposed in stages at three-month intervals in 1979. The timing could hardly have been worse. Carter must cope with an intolerably high rate of inflation, expected to be 9.5% for 1978, and the prospects of a recession next year; the OPEC decision significantly augments both problems and makes them that much harder to deal with. Reflecting the difficulties ahead, the dollar fell an average of 2.25% against major European currencies last week until it was temporarily rescued by large-scale intervention from central banks. The Dow Jones dropped 17.84, to

787.51 before rallying at week's end.

The bad news broke at a time when the President was trying to finish the difficult budget for fiscal 1980 (and suffering from a flare-up of hemorrhoids that forced him to cancel all appointments on Thursday). Administration economists immediately tried to calculate what the damage from the OPEC price hike would be for 1979. They estimated that the cost of petroleum products, ranging from heating oil to gasoline, would rise 3¢ to 5¢ a gallon. The inflation rate, now projected at 7.5% for next year, would rise by another .3%. The rate of economic growth, they estimated, would be trimmed by .15% to 2.5%, a performance sluggish enough to lead to a recession, though the Administration continued to insist that there would be no recession. Unemployment, currently at 5.8%, could go to 6.5%.

The effects of the OPEC move will be felt throughout the nation—and indeed the world—but some areas of the U.S. will be harder hit than others. New England is in particular jeopardy because 85% of its energy comes from oil, 65% of it imported. Though the region contains only 5.8% of the U.S. population, it consumes 25% of the nation's crude oil, which is used mainly for heating. Massachusetts officials estimate that heating-oil bills will rise by about \$75 a month by the end of 1979, bringing the average annual cost to \$1,000 for homeowners. Confronted with

still another boost to inflation, the President seemed as determined as ever to resist any increases in the \$30 billion deficit planned for his \$532 billion budget for fiscal 1980. He made that plain in a meeting last week with a group of the nation's Governors and mayors. While the Governors were relatively sympathetic, the mayors were dismayed. Carter's projected reductions in federal spending could cost them \$15 billion in aid at a time when their own costs are rising. Complained Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson: "Not only are we cutting to the bone, but we are threatening to cut to the marrow." Irritated Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson told Carter that he had already started laying off hundreds of public employees even though his city has the highest unemployment rate in the country.

Among the anticipated cuts: more than a third from the budget for the \$11 billion Comprehensive Employment Training Act, meaning the loss of some 60,000 jobs; \$1 billion from the waste-water-treatment construction program; \$150 million from urban-transit aid; \$150 million from new urban parks; \$400 million from the urban-development-action grant program—a favorite of the mayors since it provides seed money for private development projects. Carter listened politely but stonily to protests against these cuts. "He did not give us any final answers," said Syracuse Mayor Lee Alexander. "I believe there is a low threshold of patience in the cities. We may have to go to Congress."

Aside from causing bigger budget def-

icits and higher inflation, the OPEC action jeopardizes the President's energy plans. On the verge of decontrolling oil prices, Carter feels he must now reconsider for fear of adding to inflation. He is expected to make up his mind on decontrol in the first week of January. "It's one of the toughest decisions the President will have over the next two years," says David Rubenstein, deputy assistant to the President for domestic affairs. While Carter ponders, his advisers are split over the issue. James Schlesinger's Energy Department favors decontrol with some kind of tax rebate for low-income people or a windfall tax on oil companies. The Council of Economic Advisers and the Domestic Council want to postpone decontrol, though not beyond 1980 when Carter has promised that U.S. domestic oil prices will rise to world levels. The OPEC decision, says Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal, "intensifies the dilemma and the difficulty of the kind of choice the President has to make. The choice is between greater inflation now or a greater energy problem in the future."

The Administration was surprised by the OPEC action because it had been led to believe that a more limited increase was planned. On a swing through four OPEC nations in November, Blumenthal thought he had won an agreement for a 7.5% hike in 1979. The 14.5% increase, staged in regular quarterly installments, indicated that future OPEC boosts might be cynically indexed to U.S. inflation, thus virtually dooming the U.S. to still more inflation.

The main reason for the price hike was clear. OPEC wanted to regain the purchasing power it had lost because of the dollar's decline, 28% since December 1976. Despite huge oil revenues, eight of the OPEC member nations ran deficits in the first half of 1978; as a group, they became the biggest international borrowers, with a total of \$5.2 billion in loans and withdrawals. Surprisingly, many American businessmen do not blame OPEC for



Saudi Arabia's Yamani at OPEC meeting

"Not happy, but not so unhappy either."

raising the price as much as it did. "If you take an 18-month time period," says Carlton Jones, manager of energy analysis at Pace Consultants & Engineers in Houston, "the increase is less than U.S. inflation and doesn't cover the dollar devaluation during that time period. The dollar has gone down more than the price increase." Fred Hartley, president of Union Oil in Los Angeles, declares: "It's our fault, not OPEC's. OPEC has behaved as any other group in business would act; it raised its price. Inflation is an international disease in which the U.S. plays

the role of having a higher inflation rate than any other industrial nation."

But even with the decline of the dollars they hold in such abundance, OPEC nations might not have agreed to such a large price increase if Iranian production had not been disrupted. When rebellion broke out there in September, output fell from 6 million bbl. a day to less than half a million. Though Saudi Arabia tried to fill the gap with its own surplus, that did not suffice. "The drop in production in Iran was the important factor in the price boost," says a U.S. Treasury official. "The Saudis are able to hold off the price hawks as long as they have excess capacity. They couldn't push any further, though, and had to give in."

Even so, the Administration wonders if its closest friend in OPEC did all it could to moderate the price increase. Saudi Arabia's Oil Minister Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani is the unofficial leader of the oil world; his word is powerful. This time, however, he was considerably less argumentative than usual. By the time the first session broke up and the ministers put away their pocket calculators and journeyed in heavily guarded motorcycle caravans to dine at the air-conditioned palace of Abu Dhabi's Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahayan, the new price had been virtually accepted. "We chewed on those figures a little more," recalled Venezuela's Valentin Hernández, "but as we reached for the chunks of lamb at Sheikh Zayed's dinner, the price was already fixed." Though Sheikh Yamani initially asked for a 10% limit on the price increase, he quickly capitulated to the majority view. "I was not happy with it," he noted laconically, "but not so unhappy either."

There were political as well as economic reasons for his behavior. Constantly under fire from the radical Arab states, the Saudis moved closer to their neighbors at the Baghdad conference that was called in October to oppose the Camp David accord. Washington had expected the Saudis to support that accord, even though it slighted the Palestinians and ignored the future status of Jerusalem, but they have not done so. "They are a small country surrounded by people with very different ideas," says James Akins, a former U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and a top oil expert. "They had to take into account their geographical position."


The U.S. has few options at its disposal in dealing with OPEC since it is more reliant than ever on foreign oil; in the first three quarters of 1978, oil imports from OPEC nations rose 7.7%. The Administration, somewhat optimistically, expects a world oil glut to develop, perhaps by mid-spring if Iranian production returns to normal; then prices may be shaved a bit or scheduled increases deferred. Most experts do not share that view, however. Their consensus: liberation from OPEC's pricing policies will come only when there is significantly greater production and conservation in the U.S. ■





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Nation

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

The Virtues of Secrecy

The three most spectacular moves in Jimmy Carter's presidency thus far have been nurtured in a secrecy so deep as to be almost conspiratorial. They have been thrust forward along clandestine channels by the sheer will of the President. They have been unveiled in high electronic drama.

It is a pattern of management that Carter himself decried when he ran for office. (He would "strip away the secrecy," he pledged back then, suggesting that to conduct state business that way was "amoral.") But its emergence tells us about the next two years. Jimmy Carter is expected to turn away from the infuriating legislative brambles whenever he can and seek out those areas in which he is sovereign and can act by himself, quickly and cleanly.

The three special events in the Carter presidency were the Camp David summit meeting on the Middle East, last month's action to bolster the dollar and dampen inflation, and the normalization of relations with China. The public reaction to Carter's decisions is still uneven, but it is commonly believed around the capital that his decisiveness and the smooth execution of his plans have shored up his leadership, and that his new strength will soon be reflected in more public respect for the President.

This may not be the way prospective Presidents imagine they will lead; but on the job around the Oval Office, you pick up power any way you can.

Secrecy, for all its sinister implications and past abuses, is a device of Executive authority. Security on normalizing relations with China was maintained for six months, and one of the reasons was that Carter penned a marginal note on his early instructions to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, saying that the matter was to be limited to four people besides himself. The handful of men who worked out the scheme to buy dollars and raise interest rates were equally devoted to secrecy. When Secretary of the Treasury Michael Blumenthal heard that one of his assistants had picked up the scent, he phoned the man and ordered, "Stop snooping."

At the final moment, when the White House called the congressional leaders down to the Roosevelt Room to tell them about recognizing Communist China, House Speaker Tip O'Neill leaned over to Vice President Walter Mondale and complained, "You should have consulted us." In fact, several members of Congress were consulted in an ambiguous manner that did not reveal the negotiations. But the White House will draw further away from sharing its critical confidences because it has grown increasingly aware that surprise and drama can be important factors in presidential momentum.

The orchestration of the China move may be a textbook model for Carter as he picks his way through the difficult problems of the following months. While the details of the inner secret were known by only a few men, there were other layers of contact. The China experts in the State Department were asked to work out "hypothetical problems" that turned out to be not so hypothetical. And then key members of Congress were talked to in a general way about the same issues. Thus the Government "knew" without really knowing, and at the center the President moved along his chosen course with assistance but with no extraneous obstructions.

All Presidents have finally rested their cases for secrecy and surprise on their own good intentions and character. In most instances that proved to be enough, but not always, as we learned with Viet Nam and Watergate. Carter's moves, too, will be judged by what the man has in his heart. After two tough years the President's character remains his greatest resource.



In the White House, a growing recourse to surprise

A Fourth Shot?

New mystery in the JFK case

For two years, the House Assassinations Committee has been poring over all the evidence on the shooting of President John F. Kennedy, trying to disprove once and for all the various conspiracy theories. Until now its conclusion was the same one that the Warren Commission had reached 14 years ago: Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, fired three shots from his sniper's nest above and behind the presidential limousine.

Last week, however, the committee received a disturbing new analysis suggesting that Oswald might have had an accomplice. A pair of acoustics experts testified in closed session that they had found a high probability that there was a fourth shot fired at Kennedy, and that it came from the grassy knoll in front of the presidential car.

"It looks like pretty strong evidence," said Richardson Preyer, Democrat of North Carolina and chairman of the subcommittee dealing with the Kennedy assassination. "It doesn't point to who might have been involved. I think it's pretty clear that Oswald just fired three times. So if there was a fourth shot, then somebody else had to be there shooting."

The new information came from Mark Weiss of Queens College in New York City and his associate, Ernest Aschenasy. Both are highly regarded experts. They helped find the erasure marks in the 18½-minute gap on one of Richard Nixon's White House tapes. Using a computer to assist them, Weiss and Aschenasy examined a tape recording of the sounds transmitted from a motorcycle policeman's radio that happened to have been left on during the shooting. The tape had been available to the Warren Commission, but the science of acoustic analysis was not then sufficiently sophisticated to make much out of it.

The experts began with a survey map of the scene and then charted the major echo points such as buildings, trees and even the press bus in the presidential motorcade. After eliminating irrelevant noises like the motorcycle engine, they identified four separate "high spike" sounds that they say were gunfire (to the ear, no gunshots are discernible when the tape is played normally). Their technique, they say, enables them to locate the origin of a sound to within two feet, and they claim that the fourth shot (actually the third in the sequence) was definitely from the grassy knoll.

"It's a new science," Preyer says, "and like any new science you wonder if it's done with magic. But I must say they make a pretty impressive case. They discuss it conservatively, and come up with a 95% probability."

For years, conspiracy theorists have

Nation

claimed that a second gunman was located on the knoll. Their view was supported by some witnesses who said they saw a puff of smoke rise from that site during the shooting. In addition, a photograph made at the time showed a policeman running toward the knoll rather than toward the wounded President. Some critics of the Warren Commission even contend that photos may show the shadowy image of a man partially concealed behind a tree on the knoll.

Despite the two experts' testimony, there is no evidence that any gunman on the knoll hit Kennedy and no evidence of who such a gunman might be. The baffled committee members, under a deadline to complete their probe by the end of the year, decided to hold public hearings on the new disclosures this week and will probably turn over their findings to the Justice Department. ■

Ashes over the Atlantic

Jim Jones is cremated, but macabre questions remain

A silver hearse carried his body from Dover, Del., to a crematorium in New Jersey. His ashes will eventually be scattered over the Atlantic. Thus were the Rev. Jim Jones' remains to be disposed of, one month after his body was found among 912 others at the grisly death scene he created in Guyana.

Less easily disposed of were some nagging questions about the episode, ranging from the whereabouts of millions of dollars amassed by Jones' cult to the exact causes of all those deaths. In the case of Jones, said Baltimore Pathologist Dr. Rudiger Breitenacker last week after examining the bullet wound in the cult leader's

head, "it looks like a suicide."

The other deaths were the subject of a coroner's inquiry in Matthews Ridge, Guyana. The chief medical examiner noted that some victims bore needle marks on their arms and concluded that they had been murdered with cyanide injections. Another inquiry witness, Cult Survivor Stanley Clayton, said that many who drank the cyanide-laced Kool-Aid did so only after Jones had pulled them "up from their seats saying they must go." A number of the dead, moreover, were small children or infirm older people who were probably unaware of what they were drinking. There is also a question that no autopsy can answer: Should those who swallowed the poison without resistance, out of a deluded devotion to a mad messiah, properly be classified as suicides?

At another hearing in Guyana last week, Larry Layton, the cult member who pretended he wanted to return home with Congressman Leo Ryan and ended up taking part in the shooting at the airstrip, was charged with the congressman's murder. Another cult survivor testified at Layton's pretrial hearing that Jones himself had talked about the need for Ryan's death and predicted that his plane would "fall out of the sky." Survivors returning to the U.S. have told the FBI that the cult's basketball team, to which Jones' natural son Stephan (who is still alive in Guyana) belonged, was actually a "hit squad" designed to seek out defectors. One former temple member, Terri Buford, says a person in San Francisco, Sandra Bradshaw, is in charge of carrying out a program to murder cult defectors, as well as such political figures as Senators Barry Goldwater and John Stennis.

Still unresolved is the question of who should get the cult's money, more than \$10 million of which has been discovered in Panama alone. Jones apparently hoped to give \$7 million to the Soviet Union. Three couriers say that they were sent by Jones from the mass death scene with more than \$300,000 in cash and letters informing the Soviet embassy in Guyana of the bequest, but abandoned the suitcase of money in the jungle because it got too heavy. The Guyanese government recovered the cash, and the cult's accounts in Panama were frozen. The Justice Department requested that the banks not allow anyone to withdraw the money. Buford's attorney Mark Lane, who once represented the cult, says he also made such a request. Lane denied reports, however, that while he was in Europe last week he tried to collect some of the money.

The Justice Department may seek to recover from the cult's assets the \$3.5 million or so that it cost the U.S. to remove the bodies. But to do this, says a department spokesman, raises "some very strong statutory and constitutional problems." The question may have to be settled in Panamanian courts. ■

Skyjack Sequel

In search of a father figure

"Escaping from prison is as American as apple pie," Garrett Brock Trapnell once told a television interviewer. He should know. The black sheep of a distinguished military family (his father was a Navy commander), Trapnell was arrested more than 20 times for robberies and other crimes committed, yet he became so skilled in faking mental illness that he repeatedly got himself hospitalized and

then escaped. Captured after hijacking a TWA airliner for \$306,800 ransom in 1972, he was finally sentenced to life imprisonment.



Garrett Trapnell

Trapnell did not give up. Last May a woman named Barbara Oswald tried to rescue him from the federal penitentiary in Marion, Ill. She commandeered a St. Louis helicopter at gunpoint, but the pilot seized her gun and killed her. Oswald's daughter Robin, 17, was shattered. She dropped out of high school but continued corresponding with Trapnell, whom a friend said she regarded as "a father figure." Last week Robin Oswald boarded TWA Flight 541 in St. Louis, then announced that she was carrying three sticks of dynamite and took over the airliner. With 87 passengers aboard, she ordered the pilot to fly to Marion. There the authorities began delicately negotiating her demand for Trapnell's release, and after ten hours the girl surrendered. Garrett Trapnell is still serving his life sentence. ■



Robin Oswald under arrest

Shattered by her mother's death.



Former Peoples Temple Leader Terri Buford

A "hit list" of defectors and politicians.

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Of Women, Knights and Horses

Millions of "displaced homemakers" are starting to organize

The motto on Milo Smith's office wall reads: "She who waits for the knight in shining armor must clean up after his horse." Widowed nine years ago at 47, she went back to college "to get another piece of paper." At 50, she was told she was unemployable. "They said I should go to the welfare office, that my new degree was worthless because of lack of recent work experience."

Furious, she turned her life experience into a career. Now she is director of the 2½-year-old Displaced Homemakers Center in Oakland, Calif. It is one of the two original centers (the other is in Baltimore) that serve as models for more than

tactical purposes, a displaced homemaker is a person from 35 to 64, overwhelmingly likely to be a woman, who has been caring for family members and has lost the means of support through divorce, separation, death or some other calamity like the disabling of a spouse. She either has not held a job for a long time or has never worked outside the home.

"People don't understand why so many women find themselves in this desperate plight," says Cynthia Marano, 31, director of the Baltimore center and coordinator of the alliance's newly formed successor, the Displaced Homemakers Network. She blames the whole spectrum

less than half of either is paid regularly. Noting that working women earn on the average only 57% of men's wages, Tish Sommers says: "When you are a woman on your own, you are poor."

In earlier times, divorcees retired into disgrace, widows into genteel poverty. Today's displaced homemakers organized—starting centers, persuading 19 states to pass helping legislation. In the coming year, the Department of Labor will provide \$5 million to assist displaced-homemaker programs.

"This is a generation of women on whom the rules have been changed," says Stewart. "When they find that the things they have treasured all their lives, helping their husbands achieve and raising children, are considered worthless, they suffer a terrible identity crisis." The first step toward economic self-sufficiency is to rebuild devastated self-esteem. "We have to sell the woman both to herself and to the community," says Sommers.

For self-confidence, the centers offer psychological support. The small staffs, usually women who have been through the experience themselves ("Real experts, not book experts," says Laurie Shields), have developed individualized programs that use many of the techniques of crisis intervention, assertiveness training, consciousness raising. In Grand Island, Neb., for example, Evelyn Spiehs, 49, widowed last spring, attends a weekly rap session with six other women, goes to larger career-guidance workshops and receives legal counseling. "It felt good to know they understood," she says, "and didn't just feel sorry for me. I wouldn't have been able to face anything yet without them."

The ultimate goal is a good job. While helping women to master such basics as writing a résumé and surviving a job interview, the centers also work on finding openings and persuading employers to take a chance on older women. In boom areas like Texas, that may be enough. But in Baltimore, where there are not enough jobs, Cynthia Marano says, "We have learned to focus on creating jobs." Example: the Baltimore center helped clients start eight cleaning businesses.

Another solution is to encourage women to train for jobs traditionally held by men. In Waukesha County, Wis., the Women's Development Center takes women into the County Technical Institute's welding, electronics, and machine-tool shops and introduces them to women already working in such areas. Says Director Ruth Fossedal: "Money talks. The minute they find out they can earn more in those jobs they are interested."

In theory, displaced homemakers are only temporary victims of change. But an American woman now has a fifty-fifty chance of being divorced, widowed or single by the time she reaches middle age, and as Milo Smith's motto indicates, she is likely to need a horse of her own. ■



Baltimore Center Director Cynthia Marano and staff

"Many women find themselves in this desperate plight."

50 programs that have sprung up across the country in the past two years.

The term displaced homemaker was invented by another Californian, Tish Sommers, 64, who was divorced at 57 and "discovered I was part of an invisible problem, one of the women who had fallen through the cracks, too young for social security, too old to be hired, not eligible for unemployment insurance because homemaking is not considered work." Also ineligible for welfare because she was not disabled and had no children under 18, caught in the double bind of age and sex discrimination, she saw that she belonged to both the middle class and the economically handicapped. With Laurie Shields, 58, a widow ("someone who always thought of myself as Mrs. Arthur Shields"), Sommers organized the Alliance for Displaced Homemakers in 1975 and traveled around the country to focus interest on the problem.

Sommers estimates that there are at least 3 million displaced homemakers, though nobody knows for sure. For prac-

tical purposes, a displaced homemaker is a person from 35 to 64, overwhelmingly likely to be a woman, who has been caring for family members and has lost the means of support through divorce, separation, death or some other calamity like the disabling of a spouse. She either has not held a job for a long time or has never worked outside the home.

"It doesn't matter where women start out," says Charlotte Stewart, 49, coordinator of the Dallas-area centers. "After a divorce, they all end up in the same place. Down." Studies and statistics bear her out. The University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research found that after divorce "the economic status of former husbands improves, while that of former wives deteriorates." Only 2% of all divorced women with children receive more than \$5,000 a year in support. Only 14% of divorce settlements include any alimony, and only 44% award child support—but

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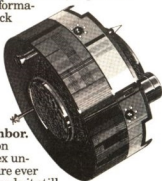
Orbiter arrives.

The first spaceship was Orbiter. Crammed with a dozen scientific instruments, it was launched last May by NASA. 300-million miles later, it arrived at Venus. But it's still traveling. It's now on a series of 243 one-day elliptical orbits around the planet—studying its atmosphere and mapping its terrain, close in and far away.



Multiprobe arrives.

The second spaceship was Multiprobe. Carrying 18 instruments, it was launched in August by NASA on a more direct 220-million mile trip. At a point 7.8 million miles from Venus, it divided into five fact-finding probes. And then these probes, including the parent "bus" that took them there, entered Venus' atmosphere to explore five widely separated planet areas. The information they beamed back about the planet's winds, clouds, and atmosphere will help clarify the mystery of how our own weather operates here on Earth.



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A Search for New Faces

And for ways to get the Shah to accept reduced powers

In the northern Iranian town of Tabriz, a group of soldiers suddenly found themselves confronting a large but peaceful group of anti-Shah demonstrators in the local bazaar. As the chanting marchers approached, one soldier said he was going to join them. He was immediately shot by one of his comrades, who in turn was attacked by the angry crowd. The soldier who had fired was saved by the quick intervention of a colonel, who took off his own pistol and offered it to the demonstrators, shouting: "We are the same people. Why do we kill each other?" After that, most of his soldiers stacked their arms in a truck and joined the marchers. The protesters urged the soldiers to participate in the chant of "Death to the Shah," but they refused. Some wept.

The incident in Tabriz last week was but one of a number of symptoms of a growing restiveness within the Shah's army as its small-scale clashes with the citizenry continue. In Najafabad, located near the industrial city of Isfahan, security forces were reported to have gone on a rampage against political dissidents. In the holy city of Qum, soldiers fired on a group of marchers. In the northeastern town of Mashhad, troops and police burst into a hospital and beat up the staff for having tended injured protesters.

At the same time, the government of Premier Gholam Reza Azhari, who is also the army chief of staff, was using tough

methods to break a nationwide oil strike. In Ahwaz, workers were given their choice of going back to their jobs or being fired; by week's end most of the country's 37,000 oil and refinery employees were back at work, and production rose to roughly half the normal output of 6 million bbl. per day.

As the relative calm continued, a palace adviser confided, "The Shah's mood is much, much better." He was said to be putting in 15-hour days and even to be working on Friday, the Muslim day of rest. Neither he nor his wife, the Empress Farah, had made any public appearances for two weeks, although the Empress slipped away one day to go skiing in the nearby Elburz Mountains. The Shah was staying out of sight, according to a spokesman, both for security reasons and because he did not "want to resurrect the impression that he runs the country."

Apparently this curious comment meant simply that the Shah wanted to keep out of public view while he attempted to end Iran's political crisis by putting together a civilian government to replace the two-month-old military regime. This was no small task, since most opposition leaders were calling for his ouster.

The Shah last week sounded out Gholam Hussein Sadighi, 73, a onetime Interior Minister, on the possibility of forming a "government of new faces." Sadighi, a professor of sociology at the University of Tehran, had been jailed five times for his

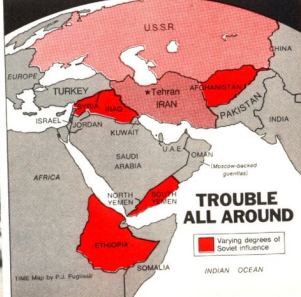
opposition to the Shah. His response to the Shah's invitation was to offer several preconditions: there must be an end to martial law and the troops must go back to their barracks; the prosecution of officials on corruption charges must be speeded up; and a regency council must run Iran while the Shah takes a "rest."

In Sadighi's view, this would be a first step in the Shah's evolution to a constitutional monarch. Such a status was envisioned by Iran's 1906 constitution, which was adapted from the Belgian constitution but has been largely ignored since the Pahlavi dynasty was founded 53 years ago by the Shah's father.

Sadighi has many of the qualities the Shah is seeking. He is widely respected, has no previous links with the current regime, and is not connected with the recent corruption scandals. Whether he can form a Cabinet is another question. He has no chance of winning the support of such powerful religious leaders as the exiled Ayatullah Khomeini, who will accept nothing less than the Shah's ouster. In an interview at his refuge near Paris, Khomeini explained to TIME Correspondent Benjamin Cate: "The Shah is the source of the trouble and chaos. He is not seeking a solution to the problem; he is looking to escape from the situation in order to come back with more power. So negotiations are meaningless."

Nor would Sadighi get any help from Karim Sanjabi, head of the opposition

Tanks breaking up demonstration in the holy city of Mashhad; Iran at the center of a strategically vital but politically unstable region



National Front, of which Sadighi is also a member. After learning that Sadighi had been conferring with the Shah, Sanjabi expelled him from the organization. There are a few moderate politicians who are less hostile to Sadighi's attempts to form a government. One is Ahmad Banihmad, 46, an opposition M.P. "We reserve judgment until Sadighi has published a program and named a Cabinet," says Banihmad. "Sadighi is the Shah's solution, not the people's and not the Ayatullahs'. But he is not tainted with corruption."

All opposition leaders agree on one thing: the Shah must make a major concession. "The minimum is that the Shah must be eclipsed," says Banihmad. "Perhaps he could go on a long voyage." While the Shah is reportedly ready to accept some of Sadighi's conditions, he has so far balked at the idea of being replaced by a regency council that would rule in the name of his 18-year-old son, Crown Prince Reza. Snaps a palace adviser: "There is no discussion of a regency council, and there will be none."

The Shah's determination to hold on puts him at odds with some of Washington's present thinking on the subject. For decades the U.S. has supported the Shah as a defense against Soviet expansion in a region of strategic importance. There are firm reports that Foreign Service officers based in Iran have long been prevented by Washington from building close contacts with Iranian opposition leaders, lest this offend the Shah. President Carter still says publicly that the Shah deserves full American support, but there are signs that the Administration's emphasis, as a ranking U.S. diplomat puts it, is shifting to one of "helping the Shah to see the reality of his position." On the advice of former Under Secretary of State George Ball, who has just completed a crash study on Iranian policy for the Carter Administration, the U.S. is urging the Shah to modify his absolute rule in order to restore stability in Iran and the Persian Gulf. The increase of Soviet influence in the region (see map), most recently in Afghanistan, worries the U.S. The Administration is also concerned about the effects of Iran's instability on such other monarchies as Jordan and the king of petromonarchs, Saudi Arabia.

The Ball view, which is generally seconded by the State Department, is that the Shah is incapable of ending the unrest through military force. Says one U.S. expert: "Even if his army shot 5,000 people and imprisoned another 50,000, the Shah's fate would be sealed. The Shah's best hope, if he wishes to retain any symbolic position of esteem, is to make a dramatic declaration turning over his powers to an interim ruling group of elder statesmen. Otherwise, he faces the slow disintegration of his army and, eventually, his entire country." As of last week, this was one bit of U.S. advice that the Shah did not seem anxious to take.



Trying to start again: Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance

MIDDLE EAST

"There Will Be Another Chapter"

But for now, the U.S.-Israeli freeze remains deep

"This is not the end. Either these talks will resume, or there will be another chapter of peace negotiations. The work we have done is not wasted." So said Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan last week, as he prepared for a week-end meeting in Brussels to explore ways of resuming the deadlocked talks on an Egyptian-Israeli pact. Both Egypt's Premier Moustafa Khalil and U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who were to join Dayan in the Belgian capital, hoped that other long chapters of negotiations would not have to be written. But the possibility of an early resumption of serious bargaining was very uncertain, especially given the still high level of distrust that welled up between Washington and Jerusalem following the collapse of the Vance shuttle on the eve of the Dec. 17 treaty-signing goal set at Camp David.

The Brussels meeting was not intended to pick up where negotiations fell off two weeks ago, when Israel rejected the latest Egyptian treaty proposals. Indeed, there was a chance that the meeting might have to be delayed if Vance had to extend his SALT talks with the Soviets in Geneva. In any case, the White House stressed that the Brussels discussions would deal only with "procedures" for restarting the talks. On that, at least, both Washington and Cairo agreed with Menachem Begin, in Jerusalem, the Israeli Premier bluntly told newsmen that Dayan would be limited to discussing only "how, when and where" negotiations might be resumed.

Begin also indicated that Israel was prepared to negotiate seriously on only one of the outstanding issues: Egypt's insistence that the security arrangements included in any treaty be reviewed after five years. The Premier was firmly backed by Israel's Knesset, which gave him a 66

to 6 vote of confidence on his tough stance toward Cairo and Washington. Said Opposition Leader Shimon Peres, usually a Begin critic: "Under pressure from the U.S., we will be united."

Emphasizing a posture of beleaguered defiance, Jerusalem halted a military equipment pullback that had been intended to help speed the Sinai withdrawal that is to begin after a treaty is signed. In response to a series of terrorist bombings, Israeli planes attacked Palestinian camps in Lebanon for the first time since before the September session at Camp David. As Florida Democrat Richard Stone, head of the Senate Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, put it, the Israelis appeared to have "drawn the wagons into a circle."

That went for the Israeli lobby in the U.S. as well. Begin telephoned Jewish leaders to give his account of the talks' collapse. Israel's Justice Minister Shmuel Tamir, who was on a U.S. tour, encouraged pro-Israel groups to launch a write-in and telegram campaign aimed at the White House and Congress. A group of 33 Jewish intellectuals, including Writers Saul Bellow and Irving Howe, who have criticized the Begin government's inflexibility in the past, sent Carter a letter saying that Washington's support of Cairo's position was "unacceptable."

The Administration decided to just take the heat. When a group of U.S. Jewish leaders asked to see Carter, they were steered instead to Vance, which the spokesmen interpreted as a calculated insult. The State Department prepared a summary of the Administration's view of the achievements of the negotiations and the hurdles remaining; its aim, said a White House aide, was simply to "explain

World

the facts," which include the U.S. insistence that Sadat's demands were not new, as the Israelis claim, but have been under discussion since early November.

One of the mysteries about the collapse of the talks on the eve of the Dec. 17 deadline was just why the Begin government dug in so hard against the Sadat proposals. Some Israelis speculate that in addition to his concerns about his country's security, Begin might have felt a need to show toughness at a time when his personal popularity has been slipping. Indeed, only a day before Begin rejected the Egyptian proposals, he had received the

results of a new poll showing a decline in his popularity from 68.2% approval in October to just 48.9% in December.

Some of Begin's own colleagues profess surprise at the degree of the Administration's disappointment over the stalled talks. Amazingly, some Israeli officials now say privately that if Washington had made it clear to the two sides how important the Dec. 17 deadline had been to Carter, a treaty agreement might have been reached on schedule. Nothing could illustrate more clearly the character of the present impasse than that fundamental misperception. ■

mer had purged her of guilt for abuses during her term as India's one-woman ruler.

Desai, 82, had no desire to help Gandhi wrap herself in martyr's robes. But Janata hard-liners, stung by Gandhi's barb that the proceedings were "like a medieval star chamber," balked at Desai's plan of suspending her from Parliament until she publicly apologized for the 1975 offense. Snapped Janata Member Kanwar Lal Gupta: "Indira-ji has put 150,000 people in jail. Can't she spend three days there herself?" The vote to condemn her: 279 to 138.

By week's end, the outcome of Gandhi's gamble was not clear. The pro-Gandhi demonstrations continued, as Gandhi's supporters strove to prove that she has a nationwide following. Desai's problems with his predecessor are far from over. Gandhi has announced that she may campaign for re-election after she is released. Predicts C.M. Stephen, the Congress I parliamentary leader, "she will be back like thunder." ■ ■ ■

In neighboring Pakistan, another deposed leader was having what may be his last day in court. Pale, shaking and gaunt, former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto emerged from 15 months in solitary confinement to appeal the death sentence handed down by a Pakistan court for plotting the murder of a political opponent. Despite his ravaged appearance, the once robust Bhutto, 50, had lost little of his self-assurance. He told the Supreme Court that his jailers had for a time kept him in a cell next door to 15 screaming "lunatics." Declared Bhutto: "Because I am a leader, I was able to survive this treatment. A lesser man would have dissipated [sic] long ago."

Denying the murder charge, he added: "I am not a criminal. I am an important national leader. Is this the way you treat national leaders?"

At one point in his four-day appeal, Bhutto asserted that "instead of making me face this humiliation, I wish they had done revolutionary justice to me," a euphemism for execution. But no matter how the court rules on Bhutto's appeal, his fate poses a dilemma for President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, the army chief who heads the junta that overthrew Bhutto last year. As long as Bhutto remains alive, he is a rallying point for opponents of Zia's regime. But if the once respected leader is killed, Pakistan will be confronted by the opprobrium of Western governments and organizations that are concerned about human rights. ■



Mrs. Gandhi, surrounded by supporters, being led off to jail after vote by Parliament

INDIA

Gandhi in the Slammer

A good place, she figures, to launch a re-election campaign

It was pure soap opera, and India's most accomplished tearjerker was relishing her leading role. After Indira Gandhi's colleagues in the 542-member lower house of the Indian Parliament wound up a rancorous two-week debate by voting overwhelmingly to expel her and send her to jail for contempt, the graying former Prime Minister, 61, declared that "I would rather be arrested here and now and not in the dead of night at my house." Then she clambered onto a table and waited for the police. Before they led Mrs. Gandhi off to Delhi's Tihar jail, where thousands of her political opponents were locked up during her 21-month emergency dictatorship, she recited a version of a British show tune: "Wish me luck as you bid me goodbye/ With a cheer, not a tear in your eye/ Give me a smile I can keep all the while I am away."

Gandhi was clearly looking forward to her brief confinement, which is due to end when the legislature recesses, possibly this week. Before she checked into prison, the *National Herald*, mouthpiece of her Congress-Indira Party (Congress I), published a special edition whose black-bordered front page carried a faked photograph of her smiling beatifically

from behind bars. Thousands of pro-Indira protesters poured into the streets of Indian cities setting fire to buses and buildings and hanging Prime Minister Morarji Desai in effigy; at least 15 people died and Gandhi's followers claimed that 32,000 demonstrators were arrested. Two members of the party's youth wing hijacked an Indian Airlines jet to the holy city of Benares with 132 people aboard; their effort to exchange the hostages for Gandhi's freedom fizzled when their weapons turned out to be a toy pistol and a ball disguised as a grenade.

From Gandhi's point of view, that probably was just as well: her chances of recapturing the prime ministership she lost in 1977 might be enhanced by her being in jail. During the debate over how to punish her for ordering the arrest in 1975 of four officials assigned to investigate the tangled business affairs of her son Sanjay, 32, she sought to provoke Desai's Janata Party into rashly locking her up. By so doing, the *Times of India* editorialized last week, she would gain "concrete evidence that when it comes to dealing with political opponents, Janata is no better than she." Then she could argue that her stay in the slam-



Ex-Premier Bhutto



Minister and elders outside black church in the northern Transvaal; President and Mrs. John Vorster at all-white Reformed church in Pretoria

Religion

White Theology's Last Bastion

The Afrikaans churches are shunned abroad, isolated at home

At the somber granite monument to South Africa's Boer pioneers near Pretoria, at Krugersdorp where the Boers defied the British and re-established their republic, and at other sites across the nation, white Afrikaners gathered to mark the Day of the Covenant, their Thanksgiving. It was on Dec. 16, 1838, that 470 Afrikaner farmers fought off a raid by 15,000 Zulu warriors, killing 3,000 of the attackers without losing any of their own number. On the eve of the battle, the Afrikaners vowed that if God granted them victory they would ever after commemorate the day as a Sabbath.

For more than 1.8 million whites in the three Dutch Reformed churches that dominate in South Africa, this year's Sabbath marked the end of an especially perplexing year. The churches continue to provide the moral underpinning for the nation's policy of racial separation, a role that has left them increasingly isolated from the mainstream of Christianity, not only abroad but at home.

The Afrikaners have long believed that their nation struck a special covenant with God ordaining them to preserve a Christian civilization. South Africa is, in a sense, the last Protestant theocracy on earth. In a country where American-style separation of church and state is as foreign as interracial marriage, Calvinist piety pervades schoolroom and board room.

The Afrikaans churches are also the last major bastion of the theological view that racial segregation is the Creator's

will. The doctrine is a relatively new one. At first, the Afrikaans churches made no distinction between God's white and black children. The church remained integrated for about two centuries and, mainly through zealous missionary efforts, growing numbers of nonwhites entered the fold. Only in 1857 did the Afrikaans God formally become a prime divider of men.

Such a policy has made the Dutch Reformed churches pariahs in most of the Christian world. Those who were members of the World Council of Churches quit in 1961 over W.C.C. criticism of South African racial policies. The dominant Afrikaans church this year cut its last direct link with Protestantism in Holland over support there for W.C.C. grants to African revolutionaries. The only remaining international tie is with a group of orthodox Calvinist churches. Now relations with the nonwhite Reformed churches within South Africa are deteriorating.

Of the three Dutch Reformed churches, two are relatively small (combined membership: 338,000). Ironically, the one with the more liberal theology takes the hardest line on race, while the more doctrinally conservative church has a group of members who signed last year's Kolonia Declaration, a rare Christian Afrikaner protest against South African racial policies. By far the most important of the three churches is the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, or N.G. Church,

which is often sarcastically called "the National Party at prayer." It claims the allegiance of 1.5 million of the nation's 2.5 million Afrikaners, including Prime Minister P.W. Botha and his predecessor John Vorster, now President. English-speaking Protestant and Roman Catholic organizations, both white and black, are quick to criticize government policy, but they have minimal influence on the Afrikaner-dominated regime. When the N.G. Church speaks, however, the government listens.

Not that it ever hears anything unpleasant. Official N.G. Church policy, issued after a 1974 synod, has dropped old racist theology in favor of nominal support for racial equality, but holds that South Africa's system of apartheid is morally acceptable. "The New Testament does not regard the diversity of peoples as such as something sinful," the policy statement says, and the teaching in *Galatians 3: 28* that "there is neither Jew nor Greek" in Christ relates to overall spiritual unity, not "social integration."

Church-state unanimity runs deeper than doctrine. The liberal Johannesburg *Sunday Times* this year published a major expose on the Broederbond, the secret clan of 12,000 leading Afrikaners sworn to uphold apartheid and considered to be more powerful than Parliament. The *Sunday Times* reported that 750 Afrikaner ministers, fully 40% of the clergy, were Broederbond members.

The N.G. Church is, confusingly enough, not one church but four. N.G. missionaries years ago set up three "daughter" churches, one each for black Africans, "Coloreds" (those of mixed race) and the small Indian community.



Smithsonian

December 1978

Victorian High Renaissance (p.48)

Above, detail of *May Sartoris*
at 16 by Frederic Leighton

"Man has reached peaks of development when his honesty of purpose, his sense of responsibility and his love of beauty combined to create what we call civilization. ... " SMITHSONIAN'S Prospectus (Spring 1970)

The elegant beauty of May Sartoris on this December's cover exemplifies this excerpt from SMITHSONIAN'S original prospectus, quoted in full below. This issue of SMITHSONIAN and its predecessors fulfill the promises we first made...

Promises kept

"... And I am escaped with the skin of my teeth."

Thus spake Job (the righteous sufferer), XIX:20.

Thus also said Thornton Wilder in his profound and witty play *The Skin of Our Teeth* (1942). It showed man surmounting all kinds of perils by dumb luck and his innate adaptability.

In this age of doubt about the future of Man we must be able to do better than merely escape by the skin of our teeth.

The Smithsonian Institution's charter requires "an increase & diffusion of Knowledge." Thus the decision to publish SMITHSONIAN, a new national monthly magazine.

A magazine must have a character and coherence of its own, so SMITHSONIAN will be a magazine of Man and what affects him.

Man is, after all, the most plastic of animals. Yet badgered as he is, buffeted and warped by the frequently deteriorating quality of his life, Man himself gets short shrift from fashionable handwringers and naysayers. We at SMITHSONIAN will deal importantly with urban Man, who today represents the majority.

We will tell of Man's staggering problems, his struggles, his search for solutions and his progress in finding them. Through the eye of science we will discern the alternatives in Man's future. From the history of yesterday's events we will fashion guideposts for today and tomorrow. And in the world of art we will discover anew those moments of glory and provocation that still raise man above the level of his environment. In our pages these great fields of interest become the settings for the greater drama of today's Man.

We consider good writing and photography to be essential. Each month our pages will contain the fresh, carefully selected work of the world's top professionals, backed by all the expertise of our remarkable Institution. Our articles will

probe Man's disasters, from oil spills to famine, clarify his predicaments, from overpopulation to pollution, and ever join battle for his improvement. We will decry the blind growth of technology but never lose sight of the Bad Old Days that technology bettered. Always we will give our readers a sense of participation as well as information in the areas explored by SMITHSONIAN.

Above all, we will keep our eyes firmly upon this harassed biped, showing how he can reestablish control over his environment. For, in the past, Man has reached peaks of development when his honesty of purpose, his sense of responsibility and his love of beauty combined to create what we call civilization.

We think the book is by no means closed on Man. Here at SMITHSONIAN we are helping write it. We are basically pragmatic yea-sayers.

The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, S. Dillon Ripley, has stated, "We are far more than one of the world's greatest museum complexes. Our charter provides the broadest conceivable base ... to carry on research and educational programs."

SMITHSONIAN is long overdue. Although the Smithsonian is a national institution, it is known mostly to those Americans who make a brief patriotic pilgrimage to the capital. Only in the Washington area has it been possible, through the activities of the Smithsonian Associates, to widen and deepen this acquaintance. Now building on a solid achievement of the Associates, the mag-

azine will enable all Americans to join, if vicariously, in an exciting exploration of subjects in which the Smithsonian is interested. It will speak not only of the Institution, but more frequently, for the Institution on many vital matters. These will include the natural and other sciences, fine and folk art, cultural and social history.

So, again, Man.

Who he is, what he is, how he got here, where he's going; how he lives and dies; what he does and what is done to him; Man in his present state—untidy, often demoralized, ever hopeful, solving problems and creating new ones, crowding this planet but reaching beyond the moon, both violently destructive and endlessly creative; he is the most interesting subject in the world.

For Man, as Protagoras said nearly twenty-five hundred years ago, is "the measure of all things." All things. We shall use Man as the yardstick to tell about the world as it is, will be or should be.

We repeat this prospectus because 8 years ago the magazine's circulation was only 175,000. Now at a 1,500,000 base, it has fulfilled its early promise with an affluent, large and intelligent audience.

You can benefit from its buying power.

Only in Smithsonian

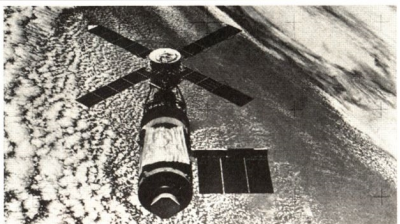
Religion

The three nonwhite satellites together have 1.3 million members. Though divided racially, the four groups have identical doctrine and are all members of a powerful umbrella body called the Federal Council of Dutch Reformed Churches.

Last March, the federal council bowed to nonwhite wishes and proposed that the four churches establish a joint governing body with far-reaching power over doctrine, discipline and issues of "general concern." Leaders of the Colored daughter church rejected the plan in favor of one even more daring: unification of the four churches. The white church, at its quadrennial synod a few weeks later, flatly rejected any accommodation to its nonwhite Reformed Christians. (The obvious fear: the church might gradually integrate at regional and local levels, and also lay the moral grounds for giving blacks a say in secular government.) The delegates also rejected a suggestion that they rename the nonwhite factions "sister" rather than "daughter" churches. The synod elected as the church's new moderator E.P.J. Kleynhans, who believes that church integration is an "indefensible policy" and takes pride that the church has been "a century ahead of the state" in developing apartheid.

The synod did not discuss the violation of elemental civil rights in South Africa or the squalid living conditions of black workers in urban areas, and it shouted down a professor who had the temerity to ask a question about the numerous deaths of black political prisoners. All this makes a schism between the white N.G. Church and its three nonwhite factions appear inevitable. Said the Rev. Ernest Buti, moderator of the black daughter church: "We have offered the hand of friendship, but we were informed that the white church is not interested in us." Non-white churchmen are mulling a plan to create a multiracial church of their own and invite white liberals to join them. White church leaders say they can block that revolt, since they provide three-fourths of the daughter churches' \$10.3 million yearly budget.

Yet the nonwhites may have no choice but to secede. For one thing, growing black nationalism in southern Africa is making it difficult, even dangerous, for black clergy to continue to be affiliated with pro-government whites. For another, the nonwhites are simply fed up. "Black Reformed Christians are tired of being associated with an apartheid church," says Allan Boesak, a prominent young Colored theologian. "In four or five years we will have a united church following the tradition of Reformed churches around the world, rejecting all forms of ethnic separation." Laments Ben Marais, a former University of Pretoria professor and a major force among white liberal reformers for more than 30 years: "I believe the church has taken a step backward that can possibly never be regained." ■



NASA's derelict as photographed by last crew of astronauts in 1974

Science

Skylab Will Come Tumbling Down

The U.S. abandons efforts to salvage its space station

It was the pride of the U.S. space program, the largest and most sophisticated vehicle ever sent into orbit. Circling the earth every 90 minutes, the 85-ton Skylab had been a scientific workshop for three teams of astronauts for a total of 172 days. But lately it has been in trouble. Unoccupied since 1974, Skylab has been losing altitude much more rapidly than expected, a change threatening it with incineration in the earth's atmosphere.

To prevent that, NASA engineers had devised a daring rescue. The new space shuttle, slated to make its first flight in September, would intercept Skylab, attach a small booster engine to one end, then fire it. Thus space planners could either raise Skylab to a higher orbit or send it plunging harmlessly into an ocean. Last week, after weighing the chances of such an orbital operation, NASA conceded defeat. That means Skylab will expire in a meteorite-like death that could scatter parts of the space station on populated regions.

Space officials cannot tell precisely when the "random re-entry" (as NASA jargon has it) will occur. Best estimate: some time between mid-1979 and mid-1980. They do know that most of the space station will burn up in the atmosphere. But about one-third of the station will rain down in a shower of some 500 fragments along a track up to 6,440 km (4,000 miles) long and 160 km (100 miles) wide. Its location: somewhere in a broad, globe-grinding belt as far north as Newfoundland and as far south as the tip of South America. About 75% of that area is water, and much of the land is sparsely inhabited. Thus the danger is slight; NASA believes that "the probability of injury or damage

is less than that from meteorites." Astronomer Brian Marsden of the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory concurred, saying that there was really "nothing to worry about."

Perhaps so. But such assurances did not ease NASA's embarrassment over the whole Skylab affair, which arose because of a scientific error about the extent of sunspot activity in the late 1970s and its effect on Skylab. By spewing out clouds of charged particles, these great solar magnetic storms help heat up and expand the earth's upper atmosphere. That creates more drag for objects in orbit, hastening their re-entry. Confronted by a falling Skylab, NASA last spring began developing the \$26 million booster engine. But it was clear, especially after troubles with the shuttle's own engine, that a Skylab rescue could not be undertaken before April 1980. By then, chances of success were reckoned at less than 10%. So, swallowing its pride, NASA asked for, and got, President Carter's permission to scuttle the entire Skylab salvage.

■ ■ ■
Following the U.S.'s successful exploration of the planet Venus with multiple Pioneer spacecraft, the Soviet Union last week landed an unmanned probe of its own on the Venusian surface. Unlike the American ships, which were primarily designed to study the Venusian atmosphere, Venera 12's lander also transmitted data from the surface for an impressive 110 min. before succumbing to the 480° C (900° F) temperature. As usual, the Soviets mixed in a little politics, placing an image of Lenin on the planet. Another Soviet craft, Venera 11, was set to reach this hot world Christmas Day. ■

Music

Cradle of Rock

And how it was babied along

Hound Dog? They wrote it.

Kansas City (They got a crazy way of lovin' there and I'm gonna get me some). They wrote it. And Charlie Brown (Who walks in the classroom cool and slow? Who calls the English teacher "Daddy-O"?). They wrote that too. As well as Searchin'. And Poison Ivy (You're gonna need an ocean/ Of Calamine lotion...). And Smokey Joe's Cafe. And Yakety Yak. And Saved.

It is one small measure of the astonishing gifts of Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller that all these songs have already slipped so securely into contemporary tradition that they seem like the work of writers than the product of a shared musical history. That is as it should be, since Leiber and Stoller always worked best close to the roots. In a sense, they even became part of the roots, a fact richly demonstrated in a new book, *Baby, That Was Rock & Roll* (Harvest/HBJ; \$6.95), that is part song compendium, part photo album, part biographical appreciation, and all long past due.

Transplanted Easterners who started collaborating while they were still teenagers in Los Angeles, Leiber and Stoller,

who are now both 45, shared an uncanny gift for crossing musical bloodlines. Both loved black rhythm-and-blues music, and could write it with such glancing wit and thorough funk that their songs sounded fresh off the streets. It is worth keeping in mind that at the time of the first major Leiber-Stoller hit, *Hound Dog*, released by Willie Mae ("Big Mama") Thornton in 1953, pop music had its own kind of enforced segregation. The sudden, seismic



Composer Mike Stoller and Lyricist Jerry Leiber today

synthesis of mainstream pop and down-home rhythm and blues was performed by Elvis Presley, who took R & B, fused it with a little country ranch and came up with rock 'n' roll. Even the generic name was a perfect synthesis: black slang, applied to the raucous music and then popularized by a white disc jockey.

Presley, the first certifiable rock superstar, built his legend with a fair assist from Leiber and Stoller, who provided him with not only *Hound Dog* but such other cornerstones as *Jailhouse Rock*, *Cring Kreole*, *Loving You* and *Treat Me Nice*. And that wasn't even their best.

Working as producers and occasional writers for the Drifters, Leiber and Stoller brought strings to rock, turned out soaring lyric ballads that remain unsurpassed. As writers and producers for the Coasters, the team gave goofy high spirits and tough sidewalk irony to songs that were essentially comic melodramas in miniature. They also provided a musical definition of rock that still works as well as any: "You say that music's for the birds/ And you can't understand the words/ Well, honey, if you did/ You'd really love your lid/ 'Cause baby, that is rock and roll."

Rock Critic Robert Palmer has supplied a feet, smart text for the book, but *Baby, That Was Rock & Roll* is made up mostly of lyrics (terrific) and old photos (family-scrappbook evocative). Mike Stoller's wonderful music is necessarily short-changed in print. Its influences can be traced—boogie, R & B, smatterings of Latin rhythm and Broadway melody—but the magic remains in the grooves. Best thing to do while looking through this book is put on some Elvis and some Coasters.

YEAR'S BEST

CLASSICAL. Mozart: *La Clemenza di Tito* (Philips, 3 LPs). Colin Davis & Co. reveal a glittering *opera seria* beneath the tarnish of neglect.

Rachmaninoff: *Piano Concerto No. 3* (RCA). Not everyone's Rachmaninoff, but electrifying Horowitz.

Verdi: *La Traviata* (Deutsche Grammophon, 2 LPs). Conductor Carlos Kleiber gives a fresh, strikingly opinionated reading of an opera that is usually ill-served.

Beethoven: *Sonatas for Violin and Piano* (London, 5 LPs). Perlman and Ashkenazy in splendid musical partnership.

Mahler: *Symphony No. 6* (Deutsche Grammophon, 2 LPs). Herbert von Karajan and the Berlin Philharmonic make Mahler even more immense than usual.

Vivaldi: *Complete Sacred Choral Music, Vols. 1 and 2* (Philips, 2 LPs). Proof that Vivaldi could use massed choirs and orchestras in heavenly fashion.

Bravo Pavarotti! (London, 2 LPs). Unabashed grandstanding, but who can resist the voice?

Beethoven: *The Complete Piano Sonatas* (Philips, 13 LPs); **Beethoven:** *The Late Piano Sonatas* (Deutsche Grammophon, 3 LPs). A connoisseur's choice: Alfred Brendel's fine detail or Maurizio Pollini's grand sonority.

Stravinsky: *Pulcinella Suite, Scherzo Fantastique, Symphonies of Wind Instruments* (Columbia). Wonderfully sharp Stravinsky from another incisive composer-conductor, Pierre Boulez.

Schubert: *String Quintet in C Major* (Deutsche Grammophon). A fitting tribute to Schubert, from Rostropovich and the Melos Quartet Stuttgart.

POP. The Clash: *Give 'Em Enough Rope* (Epic). New Wave rock, smart, tough and, make no mistake, dangerous.

Ry Cooder: *Jazz* (Warner Bros.). Old jazz refurbished by a great instrumentalist.

Lee Dorsey: *Night People* (ABC). New Orleans R & B for the '70s, created by peerless Allen Toussaint, sung by a great master of soul.

Keith Jarrett: *Sun Bear Concerts* (ECM/Warner Bros.). Lyric dreams and vapor-trail improvisations on the jazz piano.

Nick Lowe: *Pure Pop for Now People* (Columbia). Roundhouse riffs soldered onto diabolical lyrics by a sardonic British rocker.

Van Morrison: *Wavelength* (Warner Bros.). "Lost dreams and found dreams in America": another album of Morrison magic.

John Prine: *Bruised Orange* (Asylum). A lot of folk, a touch of country, and plenty of grace and pain.

Southside Johnny and the Asbury Jukes: *Hearts of Stone* (Epic). Immaculately scruffy roadhouse rock played and sung at full tilt.

Bruce Springsteen: *Darkness on the Edge of Town* (Columbia). Visions of challenge and redemption in nighttime America by a classic rock 'n' roller.

Warren Zevon: *Excitable Boy* (Asylum). "Send lawyers, guns and money/ Dad, get me out of this." Snub-nose tales of blown chances, aching loss and creatures that prowled the night, fused into a perfect genre piece by the foremost exponent of hard-boiled rock.

Theater

Girl Gets Boy

MAN AND SUPERMAN
by George Bernard Shaw

Intellectually speaking, G.B.S. was a great pass receiver. When astrodromed quarterbacks like Ibsen, Nietzsche, Darwin and Marx riffed ideas through the air, Shaw would snatch them and race down the field for dramatic touchdowns, spouting aphorisms and paradoxes as he went.

He probably caught his idea for *Man and Superman* from Schopenhauer. The glum philosopher held that "egotism is deeply rooted—but the species has a greater claim on the individual than the perishable individuality itself... The growing inclination of two lovers is really already the will to live of the new individual which they can and desire to produce." Shaw labeled this will of the species the Life Force and gave an old formula an ingenious plot twist—boy meets girl, boy flees girl, girl gets boy. Q.E.D.: the Life Force triumphs again. To this, as a metaphysical dimension, Shaw added a third-act "Don Juan in Hell" sequence, a kind of afterworld dream in which the playwright argues that the Life Force has developed consciousness, and is using man in order to discern purpose and destiny in brute existence: "To be in hell is to drift: to be in heaven is to steer." Retorts the Devil: "On the rocks, most likely."

The revival at Manhattan's Circle in the Square theater is not exactly on the rocks, but it is certainly becalmed. One obvious flaw is the casting. Shaw's hero,



George Grizzard and Ann Sachs as Jack Tanner and Ann Whitefield in *Man and Superman*

Jack Tanner (George Grizzard), who doubles as Don Juan, is meant to be a clever and intense young idealist, full of revolutionary ardor. He is in the grip of what Shaw calls a "master passion," and his iconoclastic views are contrasted with those of a fossilized former liberal, Roebuck Ramsden (Richard Woods). Grizzard works hard. But he is visibly too cold for the part and lacks the psychic energy needed to fuel the evangelist in Shaw's most fervent heroes.

What of Ann Whitefield (Ann Sachs), the girl to whom Jack must succumb even

though he pursues his bachelor freedom across all of Europe in a touring car? She must be as delectable as strawberries and cream, a muse of delight, Goethe's "eternal feminine" luring men on. Sachs makes her predatory, poised like a pelican about to dive-bomb a poor fish. And Philip Bosco as the Devil displays an unctuous complacency that defeats the role.

If Shaw could be divided into four elements, they might be fire, music, mind and rhetoric. The fire and music are quenched in this revival; the mind and rhetoric are unquenchable, as is Shaw's master passion, his abiding love for the English tongue.

—T.E. Kalem

YEAR'S BEST

Ain't Misbehavin'. Fats Waller was a man of foxily mischievous humor, a rollicking hand on the keyboard, and a ravenous appetite for Bach, booze and broads. Old soldiers may fade away, but this jubilant musical tribute proves that the manner and the music of a master jazzman do not.

Deathtrap. A dandy scalp tinger—literate, amusing, land-mined with scaring surprises. John Wood is the chief perpetrator, and he juggles mirth and mayhem with superb adroitness.

"Da." As Eugene O'Neill knew so well, the dark jesting soul of the Irish is stalked by the ghosts of the past. "Da," which won the New York Drama Critics' and Tony awards, is about a capricious old party, saltily portrayed by Bernard Hughes, who refuses to be buried with his effects.

Galileo. Out of the confrontation between Galileo's celestial findings and the inflexible cosmology of the Inquisition, Bertolt Brecht fashioned a drama of high moral intelligence that probes the uneasy relation between science and power. Laurence Luckinbill's New York Actors' Theater gave the play a luminous revival.

The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas. For cleverness, tunefulness, choreographic ingenuity and the infectious appeal of its cast (especially Henderson Forsythe's tart-tongued sheriff), *Whorehouse* is the standout musical of '78.

Wings. In one of her rare American appearances, Con-

stance Cummings gave one of the best performances of the year as the victim of a stroke, imprisoned in the Gulag of her own fragile body. Those who missed her in the play's too-short run at the Public Theater will have a second chance early next year, when *Wings* alights on Broadway.

Spring Awakening. In 1891 German Playwright Frank Wedekind psychographed an adolescent torn by the conflicting demands of natural desire and social propriety. In this revival, the Juilliard Theater Center revealed anew that April is still the cruellest month.

St. Mark's Gospel. Gospel means good news, and rarely has the word more compellingly been made flesh than in Alec McCowen's incomparable rendering of the King James text. The actor will play a return engagement in 1979. Mark it well.

Buried Child. Sam Shepard's saga of primal fears and lusts is shot through with sunbursts of surreal humor. As the dying patriarch, Richard Hamilton casts the blistered shadow of Lear on a blasted prairie heath.

Ballroom. While it beats, the heart defies time. Dappled by the shimmering lights of the Stardust Ballroom, the couples whom Director-Choreographer Michael Bennett sends swirling across its floor are cradled in hopes and dreams unmocked by middle age. An entrancing musical with a rare grace note of affection.



PROGRESS REPORT

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Progress for People

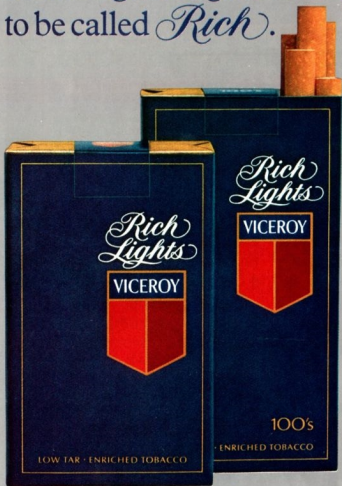
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